

A N E C D O T E S
O F T H E
R U S S I A N E M P I R E .

Richardson (W. V.)
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A N E C D O T E S

OF THE

R U S S I A N E M P I R E .

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A N E C D O T E S
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

IN A
SERIES OF LETTERS,
WRITTEN, A FEW YEARS AGO, FROM
S T. P E T E R S B U R G.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN, AND T. CADELL
IN THE STRAND.
MDCCLXXXIV.

A. & C. D. E. S.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM SHAW LORD CATHCART

IN THESE LETTERS

ARE

WITH GREAT RESPECT

INSCRIBED

SERIES OF LETTERS

BY



MOST OF THE

DEVOTED SERVANTS

W. RICHARDSON

GLASGOW COLLEGE

SEPTEMBER 1793

PRINTED FOR W. STRAID, AND T. CADELL

IN THE STRAND

MDCCLXXXIV

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM SHAW LORD CATHCART,

THESE LETTERS
ARE,
WITH GREAT RESPECT,
INSCRIBED,

BY
HIS LORDSHIP'S
MOST OBEDIENT AND
DEVOTED SERVANT,

W. RICHARDSON.

GLASGOW COLLEGE,
Sept. 17, 1783.

TO
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WITH GREAT RESPECT
INSCRIBED,

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MOST OBEIENT AND

DEVOTED SERVANT,

W. RICHARDSON.

Glasgow College,
Sept. 27. 1781.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of the following Letters, during the space of four years that he passed in Russia, had opportunities of observing many circumstances that appeared to him remarkable in the manners of the Russians; and of knowing some particulars, that seemed to him interesting in the characters of eminent persons. He does not pretend, however, to have compiled a complete Account of the Russian Empire. He has only mentioned such facts, as he had occasion to witness; or such as had been communicated to him by persons on whose information he could depend: and for this reason, as the term *Anecdote* may perhaps apply to a nation in general, no less than to individuals, he has entitled his Work ANECDOTES.—Chiefly solicitous of conveying such information as might be useful or amusing to his Readers, he has kept every thing respecting himself as much out of view as possible; and this must

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account for abruptness in some of the Letters; and for his presenting others in the form of Extracts. At the same time, the Reader may probably remark, that several of the following Letters have little relation either to the manners of the Russians, or to the characters of eminent cotemporaries. Some of them contain enquiries suggested to the Author, or his Correspondents, concerning facts or events which he took occasion to mention. Others have a connection still more remote; and are scarcely any otherwise related to his subject, than that they were written during the time he remained in Russia. It is hoped, however, that, in a Publication in which a very close method is not proposed, the slight connection between those Letters, and the professed design of the Volume, will not be considered as a great defect.

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A N E C D O T E S
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

L E T T E R I.

*Journal of a Voyage from England to
St. Petersburg.*

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, Aug. 16, 1768.

I HAVE the pleasure of informing you of my arrival in Russia. The passage was expeditious; but not intirely without some hazard: and the following Journal of the Voyage, in which, however, I have only marked those days when any thing particular occurred, may perhaps afford you some amusement. Nor shall I harass you with *larboard* and *starboard*, and *fore* and *aft*.

B

We

We are neither of us seamen; why, therefore, should I trouble either you or myself with the affectation of naval terms?

August 2. I embarked, in the evening, along with Lord C. * and his family, on board the Tweed Frigate at the Nore.

August 3. Early in the morning the vessel was under sail. The wind very favourable. The Tweed carries thirty-two guns: and, including forty marines, her full complement of men is two hundred and twenty.

August 6. Very stormy. The weather, hitherto, had been remarkably pleasant. This day we entered the Categate.

August 7. The weather fine, and the wind favourable. We sailed along the coast of Zealand.—Nothing of the kind could be more delightful than the verdure and variety of hill and dale, displayed in that beautiful island. In the afternoon we passed a small palace belonging to the King of Denmark.

* His Lordship was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Empress of Russia.

It is distant about two miles from Elsinore; is flat-roofed; has twelve windows in front, and is built, as I was told, on the very place formerly occupied by the palace of Hamlet's father. In an adjoining garden, the very spot is shewn where that Prince was said to have been poisoned.—We came to anchor in the evening, in the Sound, between the opposite fortresses of Elsinore and Helsingburgh.

August 8. Remained at Elsinore.

This town stands upon a small bay: it contains about five thousand inhabitants; commands the Sound; and was formerly the place of residence of the Danish Princes. The streets are narrow, and ill-paved; the houses are of brick or wood, and are covered with tiles. The castle stands on the west point of the bay: it is fortified with works of earth, on which are mounted three hundred and sixty-five pieces of cannon; and the subterranean apartments are said to be so very spacious, as to be capable of containing more than a regiment of men. In other respects, the castle itself seems to be a place of very little defence: it is a square edifice, built of

free-stone brought from the coast of Sweden; and is so adorned with spires, as at a distance to resemble a church. The rooms are lofty; and contain many coarse historical pictures, relating chiefly to the wars of Denmark.—The altar-piece, in the great church of Elsinore, is also shewn as a curiosity. It is made of oak, very richly gilt and carved; and the figures, in different groups, represent the history of our Saviour.—The Sound, at this place, is about three miles broad; and the toll, levied from merchant ships, was first imposed to defray the expence of light-houses erected along the coast by the King of Denmark.—The soil in Zealand, though the sea-coast appears very beautiful, is light, sandy, and not very fruitful. The grain it produces is chiefly rye; and any cattle I saw were remarkably small. The carriages, in which the inhabitants carry turf for fuel, and other necessities, are drawn by horses, go upon four little wheels, are narrow, and have their sides wattled.

The opening of the Sound, and the situation of the Tweed this evening, displayed a very beautiful landscape. The view to the east was bounded

bounded by the isle of Ween, formerly the residence of Tycho Brahe. This little island is of a circular form: the shore is higher than the neighbouring coast of Zealand; and even higher at that particular place than the coast of Sweden. We were just able to distinguish its agreeable verdure, and to discern the spires of Copenhagen, which seemed very near it. The sea-coast from Elsinore to Copenhagen, finely diversified with cornfields, meadows, woods, little hills, and summer-palaces belonging to the King and the Nobility, was happily contrasted by the black rocks on the opposite and mountainous coast of Sweden. The sea was quite smooth; and the castles of Elsinore and Helsingburgh, with the numerous vessels that lay at anchor, and all the other circumstances of the scene, were embellished by a glorious setting sun, whose rays were reflected from a multitude of gilded clouds.

The only disagreeable circumstance I met with here, was a whispered account of the royal family. I am afraid you will soon hear of "something rotten in the state of Denmark."

August 9. We passed the island of Bornholm. The coast appeared high, without wood or cornfields; but covered with verdure. The weather fine.

August 10. We sailed along the coast of Gothland, a very beautiful island. The land rises gently towards the middle. The country appeared fertile and woody; and, from the number of spires and houses, and from the vast swarm of fishing-boats which came around us in the evening, it seemed very populous. The number of islands in the Baltic, displaying a variety of different appearances constantly shifting, and succeeding one another, renders the navigation of that sea, in summer or autumn, remarkably agreeable.

August 11. A very stormy day. At noon we came in sight of Dago, an uncouth, black, and disagreeable island; the first specimen of the Russian dominions. At night we left the Baltic, and entered the gulf of Finland,

August 12. A fine day. The sea perfectly smooth. We passed Revel in the morning; and as the evening was uncommonly pleasant,

sant, for the light continued with us longer than in more southern latitudes, we remained upon deck till past eleven at night. Our voyage, which hitherto had been speedy and agreeable, was near an end; and we retired, in perfect security, to our cabins.

August 13. At one o'clock in the morning an alarm was given. The ship had struck on a rock. All upon deck was tumult: all below consternation. Expecting every moment that the ship-boats would be sent off with the passengers, we held ourselves in readiness for that event. The morning was perfectly calm; and the sea smooth as a mirror. These circumstances were peculiarly favourable; for the least gale of wind would have dashed the vessel in pieces. To the north-east, within two or three miles of us, lay some little islands; and to the north-west was a beacon, to which our pilots, for we had two of them, had not attended. Our ship, in the meantime, was so closely wedged in between the rocks, that she seemed incapable of any motion. The rocks at the fore-part were hardly two feet under water.

The first attention of Mr. Colingwood, the Captain, was to lighten the vessel: and, accordingly, several of the ship-guns, and some heavy casks, were thrown into the sea. A large anchor was carried out by the stern; and an united effort was made by the ship's crew, to force back the vessel. But the anchor having taken fast hold of a rock, and having its fluke torn off, our effort failed. We now expected to leave the ship, lest a sudden gale should put it out of our power. But to this measure, several reasons were opposed. Signals of distress had been hung out, and six or seven guns had been fired; but though in the neighbourhood of some islands, no boats had come off to our assistance: if, therefore, those islands were inhabited, it must be by barbarous Fins, who, living on the confines of the Russian and Swedish dominions, were hardly subject to either power, and might prove no less formidable than the gulf itself. If they were not inhabited, we must run the hazard of wanting provisions, as we knew by our charts, that we were twelve leagues from the coast of Finland. Besides, our leaving the ship, might have discouraged the crew, who had hitherto exerted

erted themselves with the utmost spirit and alacrity.

In the meantime, the sun rose most splendidly, without a cloud. It resembled a blaze of fire rising from the midst of the sea; and the gulf, to the distance of many leagues, shone with refulgent beams. The scene was glorious; and all of us seemed to receive new spirits from the view of that radiant object. More guns and casks were thrown overboard: another anchor was carried out: another effort was to be made; and the attention and expectation of all were excited. But the anchor having broke, like the former, we remained in our former position. Add to this, that the increasing light, by having shewn us the wreck of a vessel that had been lost on these very shelves, scattered among the rocks and under water, heightened our sense of danger. Yet no unbecoming feelings appeared.

Soon after, the appearance of sails at some distance, revived our hopes. Signals of distress were repeated: we fancied they were steering towards us: we expected they would put us on shore at Revel, or some neighbouring

ing harbour : we every instant imagined they were coming nearer : every one was eager to impart the joyful intelligence : but when those who were gone below deck on this good-natured errand returned, and expected to see those friendly vessels at hand, they saw them with difficulty ; the sails were lessening, and disappeared. Whosoever they were to whom those vessels belonged, and I trust they were not our countrymen, they did not choose to involve themselves in our misfortune. Thus, fastened as we were, to a solitary rock in the gulf of Finland, we had the additional distress of feeling ourselves abandoned.

We had now been struggling no less than eight hours in this critical and forlorn situation. It was nine in the morning : and the sea, owing, very probably, to an approaching gale, seemed to swell, and have a tremulous motion. Not a moment was to be lost. Our sheet anchor was laid on a raft, and carried out like the former : more guns and casks were thrown into the sea, and the remaining guns were loaded, that by their discharge, the concussion given to the ship might assist us. The effort was made : our anchor broke as before :
but

but at that interesting moment the ship got off. It was now our fortitude seemed to leave us: we had been more careful in arming our minds against any thing adverse, than in guarding against the joy of deliverance; and our apprehensions never appeared but in our mutual congratulations, when we thought ourselves safe. Our honest Captain, steady as he appeared to be during the time of our danger, and who was just about giving orders for cutting down the masts, shewed emotions, when he saw us out of danger, which did him honour.

About half an hour after the Tweed was in motion, we discovered a small vessel, with a sail, coming towards us: but on seeing us clear of the rocks, it put about, and the persons on board seemed afraid of approaching us: circumstances which gave us no favourable opinions of their designs, had our ship been wrecked. We obliged them to come on board. They were Fins from a distant island, who had set out on hearing the first signals of our distress. They assisted in piloting us from among the rocks, and were very happy in being allowed to pick up the casks floating upon

upon the water. One of the midshipmen gave the chief person among them an old laced hat, with which he strutted upon deck with great consciousness of superior rank.

We were not above an hour under sail, when the sky became cloudy, and the sea very rough; and, what is very singular, we were in no less danger the succeeding night: but the hazard to which we were exposed was instantaneous; and we scarcely knew of it till it was past. Coming with a brisk wind right upon a steep rock on the coast of Hogland, the ship was within a few minutes of being dashed in pieces; and was called to by a trading vessel, just time enough to tack about.

The rocks we struck upon are about fifty-five leagues from St. Petersburg, and in the sixtieth degree of north latitude. The islands are named Pelting Scars; they are situated off the coast of Nyland in Finland, and almost directly south from the city of Borgo. Between Nyland and the Pelting Scars, is Pelting Sound, a sea full of rocks and barren islands.

August

August 14. We passed the island of Hogland or Hochland, signifying, in the language of those parts, Highland. The coast is rocky, mountainous, and covered with heath. At night we lay at anchor at Cronstadt, in the island Scutari.

In this place are the principal dock-yards of the Russian Empress. The island itself is four miles in length, and two in breadth, and has some wood upon it. The town of Cronstadt is very small, and ill-built. It is distant about eighteen miles from St. Peterburgh.

August 15. This day we left the Tweed, and arrived at St. Peterburgh in one of the Empress's yachts. The weather was very fine: and we had, in sailing along, a full view of the neighbouring coast of Æstthonia. The palaces of Oranibaum and Peterhoff have a magnificent appearance to the sea; and the face of the country is agreeably diversified with woods and little hills. The country around St. Peterburgh is very woody: so that in approaching it, the steeples and spires, which are covered with tin and brass, and
some

some of them gilt, seemed as if they arose from the midst of a forest.

I shall write you again in a few days, either by post, or by the Tweed, on her return to England.

Adieu.

L E T T E R II.

*The Empress of Russia, and the Great Duke,
lay the Foundation of a magnificent Church.*

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, Aug. 19, 1768.

I AM just returned from witnessing the ceremony of the Empress's laying the foundation-stone of a church dedicated to St. Isaac; and which is intended to be the largest in St. Petersburg. St. Isaac is held in esteem by the Russians, not so much for any distinguished character of his own, as that the day consecrated to him was the birth-day of Peter the Great. As the Russians apprehend that every day of the year is consecrated to some particular Saint, they are convinced that every individual is under the peculiar protection of that holy person, on whose day he happened to have been born; and all of them carry about them a small metal image of their tutelary Saint. Herodotus, if I rightly recollect, gives a similar account of the Egyptians.

He tells us, that they believed every day sacred to some particular God; that they were under the peculiar protection of that divinity on whose day they were born; and that they rendered him particular homage. So much alike are all superstitions.

As the ceremony I shall now describe to you was reckoned of great importance, it was performed with great pomp and magnificence. All the space to be occupied by the church had been previously railed in; and into this place, only persons of high rank, and those who had a particular permission, were admitted. An immense multitude of people were assembled without. An arch, supported upon eight pillars of the Corinthian order, and adorned with garlands, was raised immediately over the place intended for the altar. Beneath this arch was a table covered with crimson velvet, fringed with gold; upon which was placed a small marble chest, fixed to a pulley directly above the table. On a side-table, fixed to one of the pillars, was a large gold plate, with medals and coins, to be deposited at the foundation, and a gold box to contain them. On another side-table was another

other gold plate, containing two pieces of marble in the form of bricks, a gold plate with mortar, and other two plates of the same metal, in which were two hammers and two trowels of gold.

The procession began with the Grand Duke and his retinue. This young Prince, the heir apparent of the Russian empire, is of a pale complexion, with dark eyes, more remarkable for their good colour, than expression; and of a shape more delicate than genteel. He seems of a cheerful disposition, of affable and easy manners. He was dressed in the uniform of the navy, which is white turned up with green, and wore a blue ribbon of the order of St. Alexander Newsky. He was attended by Count Panin, his governor, who is also prime minister.

Soon after his arrival, the approach of the Empress was announced by the beating of drums, and a discharge of the cannon at the Admiralty, which continued firing at regular intervals during the whole time of the ceremony; and the Grand Duke, who had

C

been

been conversing with the courtiers, returned with his retinue to meet his mother, and fall in with her train. It was now that the principal parts of the procession approached. It was preceded by priests of inferior orders, in long purple or dark-coloured garments of woollen cloth, with wide sleeves; having their heads uncovered, their long hair hanging loose about their shoulders; scattering incense from small censers, which hung in chains; and carrying flags, on which were represented, in glaring colours, the deeds, and, I believe, the martyrdom of St. Isaac. These were followed by priests of a higher order, with their heads uncovered like the former; but having their flowing robes, of flowered silk, adorned with gold and silver; and carrying splendid crosses, burning tapers, and a large portrait of the Saint. Immediately after these came a band of Choiristers, singing hymns; the music was deep-toned, solemn, and even sublime. After them came the dignified Clergy, with garments of gold and silver stuffs, adorned with precious stones; and having their lofty mitres ornamented in a similar manner. They had, in general, a
very

very venerable appearance, with grey locks and long beards: they seemed like so many Socrateses and Zenos; though, ever and anon, you might have seen an excellent Silenus, appearing rather surpris'd at his becoming a bishop.

Some large wax tapers were carried immediately before her Imperial Majesty, who came next, attended by a great number of ladies and gentlemen. The Empress of Russia is taller than the middle size, very comely, gracefully formed, but inclined to grow corpulent; and of a fair complexion, which, like every other female in this country, she endeavours to improve by the addition of rouge. She has a fine mouth and teeth; and blue eyes, expressive of scrutiny, something not so good as observation, and not so bad as suspicion. Her features are in general regular and pleasing. Indeed, with regard to her appearance altogether, it would be doing her injustice to say it was masculine, yet it would not be doing her justice to say, it was entirely feminine. As Milton intended to say of Eve, that she was

fairer than any of her daughters, so this great Sovereign is certainly fairer than any of her subjects whom I have seen*.—She wore a silver stuff negligee, the ground pea-green, with purple flowers and silver trimming. Her hair was dressed according to the present fashion. She also wore a rich diamond necklace, bracelets, and ear-rings, with a blue ribbon of the highest order of Knighthood; and the weather being very warm, she carried in her hand a small green umbrella. Her demeanour to all around her seemed very smiling and courteous.

After the whole procession arrived at the proper place, divine worship was performed with prayers, vocal music, and all the pompous ceremonies of the Greek church. A crucifix, after being immersed by a Priest of high rank in a silver basin filled with water, was carried to the Empress and Grand Duke. Bowing, and crossing their breasts, in testimony of adoration, they kissed it. Holy water was

* I have seen no picture, medallion, or print, excepting one picture, in which she is painted in men's clothes, that does her justice. In most of them her features appear too strong, and her air too masculine.

sprinkled on all who were present, and a censer smoking with incense was carried round. Then, after some suitable passages of the Greek service had been read aloud, accompanied with prayers and music, another dignified Clergyman, laying the medals on a crimson velvet cushion, fringed with gold, lifted them on his head, and carried them round the altar-place. After they were in this manner consecrated, and laid in the marble chest, the Empress giving her umbrella in a very easy manner to an attendant, and taking a hammer very gracefully in one hand, and a piece of marble in the other, she put it into the chest. Then, with the trowel, she put in some mortar. The same ceremony was performed by the Grand Duke and the dignified Clergy. Some of the Nobility, and Foreign Ministers, also put in some mortar. The marble chest was then shut up, and raised by the pulley; at that instant the table, sinking down through a trap door, was very quickly removed; and her Imperial Majesty letting down the pulley, the chest sunk gently down through the platform into its place. When this was done, the Court Chaplain, ascending a pulpit, which

was fastened to a pillar, delivered, with fervent, and almost declamatory, elocution, a short discourse in the Russian language. I could only judge of his manner, which was not disagreeable; and of the sound of the language, which was liquid and pleasant. The whole ceremony concluded by the Empress's allowing the dignified Clergy to kiss her hand, which they did with good-will and a loud noise; and seemed rather happier with such an opportunity, than her Imperial Majesty herself, notwithstanding her smiles.

Adieu.

LETTER III.

Anecdotes of the Empress of Russia.

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, Nov. 7, 1768.

I PERCEIVE, by some severe expressions, in a letter from our friend —, that our northern Semiramis has but little chance of exciting his admiration. Not to him, therefore, but to you, who have more indulgence for the “weaker vessel,” though on the present occasion no indulgence is necessary, I transmit the following diary of the Empress, as I heard it from the Countess Romanoff, a very respectable old lady of the highest rank in this place, and mother to Count Romanoff.

Her Majesty, according to this authority, rises at five in the morning, and is engaged in business till near ten. She then breakfasts, and goes to prayers: dines at two: withdraws to her own apartment soon after dinner:

ner : drinks tea at five : fees company, plays at cards, or attends public places, the play, opera, or masquerade, till supper : and goes to sleep at ten. By eleven every thing about the palace is as still as midnight. Whist is her favourite game at cards ; she usually plays for five imperials * the rubber ; and as she plays with great clearness and attention, she is often successful : she sometimes plays too at picquet and cribbage. Though she is occasionally present at musical entertainments, she is not said to be fond of music. In the morning, between prayers and dinner, she frequently takes an airing, according as the weather admits, in a coach or sledge. On these occasions, she has sometimes no guards, and very few attendants ; and does not chuse to be known or saluted as Empress. It is in this manner that she visits any great works that may be going on in the city, or in the neighbourhood. She is fond of having small parties of eight or ten persons with her at dinner ; and she frequently sups, goes to balls, or masquerades, in the houses of her nobility. When she retires to her palaces in

* Ten guineas.

the country, especially to Zarskocelo, she lays aside all state, and lives with her ladies on a footing of as easy intimacy as possible. Any one of them who rises on her entering or going out of a room, is fined in a rouble* : and all forfeits of this sort are given to the poor. You will easily perceive, that by her regular and judicious distribution of time, she is able to transact a great deal of business; and that the affability of her manners render her much beloved. But I will not yet say any thing very positive concerning her character and principles of action. For, she may be very social, and very affable, “and smile, and smile, and”——you know the rest.

I may, however, very safely affirm, that a great number of her actions, so great indeed as to constitute a distinguishing feature in her character, proceed either from the desire of doing good, or the love of fame. If from the last, it must also be acknowledged, that the praise she is so desirous of obtaining, is, in many instances, the praise of humanity.

* Four shillings.

Some-

Sometimes, indeed, there is a sort of whim or affectation of singularity, in the manner of conferring her favours, that looks as if the desire of being spoken of, fully as much as the desire of doing good, was the fountain from which they flow. For example—A young officer, who attended the court, fell in love, as was natural, with a young lady. The lady, as was also natural, appeared not insensible to his worth, nor displeased with his assiduity. But want of fortune on both sides, was an obstacle to their union. The Empress, however, perceived their attachment; and sent, one day, for the young gentleman to a private conference. She told him, she had observed that M— and he entertained great tenderness for one another; that the whole Court observed it; and hinted something like regret, that such things should have been remarked. The young man was disconcerted; but had firmness enough to avow the sincerity of his passion. “Then,” said her Majesty, “you must forthwith be married.” This was sudden: the young man shewed some hesitation; but not from any motives that were improper: “he had no fortune, and could
“ not

“not maintain the lady in a manner suited to her rank and merits.” The Empress was peremptory. They were married as speedily as the forms of the church permitted, and sent off in a coach to St. Petersburg; for the Court was at that time at Zariskocelo. They knew not whither they were going, nor how they were to subsist; nor were they very certain of their not having incurred their Sovereign’s displeasure. Meantime, the persons who conducted them, and who would give them no information, set them down in the * Galerhinhoff. Here, to their utter astonishment, they were carried into a house elegantly furnished; they met with a numerous company of their friends; they found a splendid entertainment; and the bridegroom was told by a messenger from the Empress, that her Majesty had given him that house as he found it, and had appointed him to an office “suited to his rank and merits.”

* * * * *

Adieu.

* One of the finest streets in St. Petersburg, inhabited chiefly by English merchants.

L E T T E R IV.

*Deputies assembled by the Empress of Russia,
from different Parts of her Empire, for
making Laws.*

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, 1768.

I WAS lately present at a meeting of the deputies summoned by the Empress from all the nations of her empire, and who have been assembled to assist her Majesty in forming a system of legislation. There is something magnificent in this idea: and if she really intends what she professes, to give equitable laws to all her subjects and dependents, from the Baltic to the wall of China, and from Lapland to the Caspian, she deserves admiration. The deputies, in their first address, stiled her "Great, wise, and the Mother of her People;" titles which, excepting the last, she declined, telling them at the same time, "None can be called great before death; none wise that
" arc

“ are mortal ; I hope I shall act as the Mother
“ of my People.”

The meeting consists of about six hundred members. They meet in the palace, where they have one large hall for the whole assembly ; and several adjoining rooms for committees. They consist of representatives of the nobility, the peasantry, and the inhabitants of towns or cities. Count Panin is deputy for the city of Moscow. The chief officers in this assembly are a Marischal, who presides ; and a Procureur General for the Crown. Out of the assembly, six committees, each consisting of five persons, are chosen by ballot : and their business, according to their various departments, is to regulate the form and order of those matters, concerning which the whole assembled deputies are to deliberate.

In transacting business, the following method is observed. The Procureur lays before the deputies some principle or subject of law proposed by the Empress, and concerning which they are to give an opinion. They then adjourn ; and the committee to whom
that

that subject particularly belongs, prepare it for the next general meeting. Then all the members are permitted to deliver their opinions in a written speech, and to determine the point before them, by the plurality of votes. But whatever their determinations may be, it remains with the Empress to ratify them or not, as she pleases. Two of the subjects lately discussed in this assembly were, "Whether any but the nobility had a right to buy lands?" and, "Whether any but the nobility had a right to buy slaves?"

I have heard that freedom of extempore speaking was allowed in some of the first meetings of this assembly; but that being likely to occasion too much disorder, it was discontinued. At present, it is expected that no person, unless his views be very well known, shall deliver a speech without previously consulting the Marischal; and if he disapproves of it, the orator, though he had the powers of a Cicero, must keep his speech in his pocket. Indeed, this assembly has no pretensions whatever to freedom of debate, and scarcely any tendency towards establishing political liberty. The members, in general,

†

neral, are chosen by the will of the sovereign: by her the subjects of debate are proposed: she keeps in her own hands the right of ratifying every determination: and the assembly, convoked by her sole authority, may be dismissed at her pleasure.

All the deputies have gold medals, as badges of their office, fastened to their breasts: and as they come here from the remotest parts of the empire, the variety of their dresses and appearance is very whimsical and amusing.—I have several times heard the following anecdote of the two Samoid deputies. I give it you as nearly as possible, in the very words in which I have heard it. The Empress asked them to suggest such laws as they apprehended would promote the welfare of their nation. One of them replied, that they had very few laws, and did not desire any more. “How,” said the Empress, “have you no crimes! Are there no persons among you guilty of theft, murder, or adultery? If you have crimes, you must have punishment; and punishment supposes law.” “We have such crimes,” answered the deputy, “and they are duly
“punished.

"punished. If one man puts another to death unjustly, he also must suffer death." Here he stopped: he thought he had said enough. "But what," resumed her Majesty, "are the punishments of theft and adultery?" "How," said the Samoid, with a good deal of surprise, "is not detection sufficient punishment?"—One would imagine, from this anecdote, that the Samoids are, or resemble, the nation of whom Tacitus says, "*Plurque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges*:" "and virtuous manners have there more efficacy than good laws elsewhere."

LETTER V. (EXTRACT.)

*Thanksgiving for the Recovery of the Empress
and Great Duke from the Small-pox.*

December 3d, 1768.

* * * * **D**IVINE service was performed this day in the Empress's chapel, on account of her recovery, and that of the Great Duke, from the small-pox; for which they had undergone inoculation by Dr. Dimsdale. The ceremony was very solemn and magnificent.

On each side of the chapel, which is a very lofty and spacious room in the winter-palace, is a row of gilt Ionic pillars. The walls are covered with glaring and ill-executed pictures of Russian saints. On the roof over the altar*, the Supreme Being is represented as an old man in white apparel. On the inside of a rail which extended across the room, and close by the pillar which was next the altar,

* Or rather, the place corresponding to the altar in English churches.

on the south side, stood the Empress and her son : and also on the inside of the rail, and on each side of the altar *, was a choir of musicians. All the rest who witnessed, or took part in the solemnity, excepting the priests, stood on the outside of the rail.

The ceremony began with solemn music ; and then were pronounced the prayers and ejaculations which constituted the first part of the service. This having lasted some time, two folding-doors close by the altar were opened from within, and displayed a magnificent view of the interior and most holy part of the chapel. Opposite to us was a large picture of the taking down from the cross : on each side, a row of gilt Ionic pillars ; in the middle, a table covered with cloth of gold ; and upon the table were placed, a crucifix, a candlestick with burning tapers, and chalices with holy water. A number of venerable priests, with grey hair, flowing beards, mitres, and costly robes, stood in solemn array on each side of this magnificent sanctuary. The whole suggested an idea of the Temple of Jerusalem.

* See the preceding note.

From this place advanced a priest, with "slow and solemn pace," carrying a lighted taper: he was followed in like manner by another, reciting prayers, and carrying a censer smoking with incense. Advancing towards her Majesty, he three times waved the censer before her; she all the while bowing, and very gracefully crossing her breast. He was succeeded by another priest, who carried the Gospel; out of which having read some part, he presented it to the Empress, who kissed it.

The priests then retired; the folding-doors were closed; the choiristers sung an anthem: they were answered by musical voices from within: the music was deep-toned, and sublime. The folding-doors were again set open: the ceremonies of the taper and incense repeated: two priests then advanced, and carried the bread and wine of the Eucharist, veiled with cloth of gold. Having administered these, they retired. The doors were closed, and the solemn music resumed.

The doors were set open a third time, with the same ceremonies as before; and a priest

ascending a pulpit fixed to the pillar opposite to the Empress, delivered a discourse. In this he celebrated her fortitude and magnanimity; and took occasion to remark, "That the Russians had borrowed assistance from Britain, that island of wisdom, courage, and virtue." After this, some priests came from the inside of the chapel, and concluded the service with prayers and ejaculations. * * * *

LETTER VI.

Distribution of Prizes by the Great Duke to Students in the Academy.—The Representation of a Russian Tragedy by young Ladies.

St. Petersburg, January 1769.

I ASSURE you, my dear Sir, I do not find it an easy matter to obtain information concerning the state of Russia. Very little can be reaped from mixed conversation; for the topics usually discussed in large companies are either very general, or suited, as indeed they ought to be, to promote present amusement. Besides, it is an unpleasant thing to ask questions. The enquirer is so much in the power of the person he addresses, that the situation is disagreeable; or he puts people so much on their guard against him, that he defeats his own purpose, and receives not even accidental or indirect information. They entertain suspicions of your design;

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they

they think you wish to be a profound politician, or that you are carrying on a treasonable correspondence ; or, still more atrocious, that your purpose is to publish a book ; or, lastly, they may perchance have read Horace, and have said to themselves, in the words of that exquisite poet,

Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est.*

Besides, no intelligence of a political nature, but such as the court chuses to communicate ; no views of men and manners, and no anecdotes of incidents in domestic life, can be collected from the news-papers. How unlike England ! that land enlightened by the radiance of Chronicles, Advertisers and Gazetteers. The half of Russia may be destroyed, and the other half know nothing about the matter. I cannot imagine how travellers coming into this, or indeed any foreign country, and who, besides other difficulties, may be ignorant of the language, and who stay only a few weeks or months, are able to give an exact circumstantial account of persons, manners,

* Th' impertinent be sure to hate ;

Who loves to ask, will love to prate. FRANCIS.

Avoid the question-asker, for he prates. ANON.

govern-

government, political interests, improvements, and all those particulars which draw the attention of strangers. I marvel at their abilities, or at their boldness.

I have to contend too with another difficulty. I perceive that the same objects are seen in very different lights by different persons. I will give you an instance; and to an Etonian, daily versant in the works of instruction, the circumstances I shall mention may afford some amusement.—I was lately present at a distribution of prizes to students educated in the Academy of Arts and Sciences. I passed through two large rooms, where the boys, dressed in white uniforms, were drawn up in two ranks; and went into a third, where the Great Duke, and other Academicians, were seated round a table, on which were placed specimens of hand-writing and drawing, executed by the scholars. There were also present many ladies and gentlemen of the Court. Count Betskoy began the ceremony, by addressing a speech to the Grand Duke, in which he recommended the seminary to his protection. To this his Imperial Highness replied, “As

“ the welfare of Russia shall ever be the ob-
 “ ject nearest my heart ; and as the proper
 “ education of youth is of so much conse-
 “ quence in every well-ordered state, it
 “ claims, and shall ever obtain, my most
 “ constant attention.” He spoke slowly, and
 with propriety, yet not without the diffidence
 of an amiable boy. On sitting down, he
 turned smiling to Count Panin, his gover-
 nor, with the air of one asking, Have I ac-
 quitted myself aright ? The Count seemed to
 assent, and I thought a tear rose in his eye.
 I was told that the Empress was present
 among the ladies ; but though this might be
 known to them, she did not chuse upon that
 occasion to be acknowledged as Empress. The
 mother wished to observe her son. It was
 the first time he had spoken in public ; and
 the mother’s heart must have thrilled with
 pleasure *. I almost wept for joy.—After
 this the company passed into another room,
 where the prizes were distributed. They
 were first presented to the ladies, and by them
 to the little boys. The scene was amusing ;
 and was enlivened at intervals by a band of
 musicians in an adjoining recess.—Tell me

* Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

VIRG.

now,

now, would not a stranger, on witnessing such a scene, on seeing one of the most powerful Sovereigns on earth, and the presumptive heir of this mighty empire, so attentive to the welfare and improvement of their people, would he not feel rapture, approve, and applaud? Yet when I express those sentiments, there are persons who shake their heads; who tell me, this Academy has subsisted for many years, and what have they done? It may be mentioned, with ostentatious pomp, in a news-paper, or by Voltaire, and nothing else is intended.—Such speeches are mortifying; and, notwithstanding their authority, I must say, that even admitting the love of fame to be the sole motive, the means used are far more laudable than those practised by princes who pursue the objects of their ambition, by adding one inhuman act to another.

The Academy mentioned above was founded in a former reign. But at a convent, a few versts from St. Petersburg, there is an establishment for the education of young women, by her present Majesty. It somewhat resembles that of St. Cyr, founded by M. Maintenon;

Maintenon ; and the Empress maintains in it two hundred girls, from six to eighteen years old. They are divided into two classes : the first consists of the children of officers, above the rank of Major, inclusive : and the second consists of the children of inferior officers : the first are instructed in elegant and polite accomplishments ; and the second, together with music and dancing, are taught to work in all female employments. All their expences, comprehending even their dress, are defrayed by the Empress.

I was present, some time ago, at an entertainment, consisting of dances of different kinds, which they exhibited in presence of the Grand Duke, and many of the Nobility. It began with dances by girls of the second class, who were dressed uniformly in brown petticoats, blue jackets, white aprons, white caps and handkerchiefs. They were succeeded by those of the first division, who were dressed in court-dresses, of different colours ; excepting that the younger part were dressed uniformly in white, trimmed with blue.—But the most amusing exercise I have

have seen them exhibit was the representation of a Russian tragedy. It was represented not only with propriety, but with elegance; and not only so, but with great theatrical ability. The flowing hair, the sparkling blue eyes, the fine figure, and graceful motions, of the young lady who performed the principal character; her melodious voice, and exquisite but well-regulated sensibility, charmed, and even transported, her audience. Near where I sat was an old venerable officer: during the first scenes, his solicitude and anxiety were very apparent; they were soon changed into joy; his emotions flowed out in tears:—she was his grandchild.

Yet blue eyes, fine figure, and melodious voice have no effect on those who shake their heads, and make sage remarks. They chill the ardour of your applause by asking, What provision is made for these young ladies after they leave the convent? And whether their education be suited to their fortune or expectations? And whether, if they should not soon get husbands, they will be inclined, after all this music, and dancing, and tragedizing, to submit to the rigid laws of a
nunnery?

nunnery?—Question-asking, as I observed at the beginning of this letter, is no pleasant business; and the above questions seemed to me particularly disagreeable, as I was not just furnished with fit replies. I ought to have mentioned that the nuns resident in this convent, some of whom were present at the above-mentioned entertainments, have it in charge, to instruct the young ladies in religious knowledge.

Adieu.

L E T T E R VII.

Causes of the Turkish War.

DEAR SIR,

January, 1769.

YOU are in the right; Russia is at present in very critical circumstances, and will furnish the Gazettes of Christendom with more interesting intelligence, than any other nation in Europe. The Empress has, within these few days, declared war against the Turks; and the preparations that are making on both sides seem to announce a very violent struggle. The following circumstances, I am credibly informed, have occasioned this unfortunate rupture.

Count Poniatowsky, the present King of Poland, was, at an early period of his life, appointed Envoy from his own country to the Court of Russia. During his residence in that empire, he attached himself to the great Duchess, who is now Empress, and insinuated

sinuated himself into her favour. This Princess, possessed of eminent talents, and actuated by an unbounded ambition, having dethroned her husband, who succeeded to the Empress Elizabeth, and having invested herself with the Imperial dignity, resolved to establish her credit at home, and her importance abroad, by governing the affairs of Poland. Accordingly, connecting herself with the King of Prussia, and in spite of the efforts of France, Austria, and the Saxon Princes, she advanced Poniatowsky to the throne, hoping, perhaps, that he would co-operate implicitly in her designs, or imagining that he possessed greater abilities than he has hitherto displayed. Surely no prince has had a finer opportunity of distinguishing himself as a warrior or politician: he was celebrated by Voltaire, who also celebrated the King of Denmark, and who celebrates all princes that are free-thinkers, and that pay him for his adulation: yet Poniatowsky, like some others, to whom he has offered incense, has done little credit to his panegyric. He has shewn neither spirit nor patriotism, and is said to be chiefly desirous of amassing treasure, and of securing to himself an independency

dency in some foreign country, should he, like another Stanislaus, be forced to abdicate his unmerited dignity. The Empress of Russia, having succeeded in giving a King to Poland, continued to act with authority in the affairs of that kingdom. To render herself popular at home, and to lessen the influence of Catholic Princes among the Poles, she encouraged all those, who adhered to the tenets of the Greek religion, or to the principles of the reformation. This party, known in the Gazettes of Europe by the appellation of Dissidents, possessed at a former period very considerable privileges. They not only enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, but had voices in the legislation, and were invested with public offices. Supported by the power of Russia, and the favour of the King, they revived their pretensions, and demanded a restoration of their rights. The Catholics took the alarm. The French fomented the quarrel, and thus concurred with the Empress Queen, who had married her favourite daughter to one of the Saxon Princes, and who flattered herself, that, by encouraging the disaffected party, and by dethroning Poniatowsky,

towlsky, she might exalt her son-in-law to the throne. Mean while, the Empress of Russia, depending on the greatness of her power, and not sufficiently aware of consequences, or misinformed by her ministers, acted with violence and precipitancy. One outrage led to another. The Dissidents were alarmed; they foresaw the ruin of their country; and willing to content themselves with having the free exercise of their religion secured to them, withdrew their claim to superior privileges. But Russia having maintained the justice of their demands, thought her honour interested in asserting them, and determined by force of arms to subdue the obstinacy of her opponents. King Stanislaus wavered; he abandoned himself to the advices of the Czartorinskys, who are his relations, and, without connecting himself with the confederates, incurred the suspicions of the Empress. Mean time the French were indefatigable; they laid out immense sums in Poland, and were no less active at Constantinople. They painted in the liveliest colours the growing power of the Russians, and represented how dangerous they would be to the Ottoman Porte, should they become absolute

solute in Poland. The Polish confederates added weight to their representations; they supplicated the protection of the Sultan, and offered to indemnify him with a part of their dominions. The Turks have been easily persuaded. Instigated by their ambition, and seduced by the policy of France, they have determined to interfere in the affairs of Poland. Nor are they without expectations, that a diversion may be made in their favour on the side of Sweden. The Empress of Russia, on the other hand, is no less determined to assert the rights, and maintain the dignity, of her Imperial diadem.

As the time seems big with important events, I may, perhaps, from time to time, give you some information concerning them.

Adieu.

P. S. I need not inform you that the Russian army is reckoned inferior to none in Europe. It is not, however, on her army alone that the Empress means to depend. At the time that the war is to be carried on with great vigour in Moldavia and the Crimea, some considerable exertions will be made by

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sq.

sea. The command of the great army, to act on the frontiers of Poland and Moldavia, is given to Prince Galitzen : and it is reported that an English Admiral is to have a considerable command in the fleet intended for the Mediterranean.

L E T T E R VIII.

The Russian Winter.

February, 1769.

COLD! desperately cold! We have had winter without the least abatement of its rigour since the first of November; and it may continue, we are told, without the least mitigation, till the beginning or the middle of April. The frost has been all this while uninterrupted. The wind has blown almost constantly from the north-east. It comes howling and cold from the heights of Siberia, and has brought with it immense quantities of snow. In the beginning of winter the snow fell, without intermission, for several days. In the country, nothing appears but a boundless white desert; and the rivers are almost one chrySTALLINE mass.—I refer you, however, for a better account of a Russian winter than I can pretend to give you, to

your favourite Virgil. In his third Georgic you have the following account, which I shall lay before you, circumstance by circumstance; and which describes the objects I have now in view with great exactness.

———Neque uljæ

Aut herbæ campo apparent, aut arbore frondes.

O'er the unfruitful scene

Nor fields nor trees are cloth'd in lively green.

Yet the feathered appearance of the boughs and little branches, is beautiful and romantic:

Sed jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto

Terra gelu late, septemque assurgit in ulnas.

Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora cauri.

One waste of snow the joyless landscape lies;

Seven ells in height the ridgy drifts arise;

There still the bitter blasts of winter dwell.

The repetition of the word "semper" in the last line has an admirable effect. Virgil could not have expressed himself more feelingly on the banks of the Neva. There is no circumstance seems to me so dreary as the "spirantes frigora cauri," the cold-breathing blasts. No translation can do the passage justice. The constant monotonous melancholy sound
of

of those howling blasts make me almost low-spirited.

Tum sol pallentes haud unquam discutit umbras.

Nor the sun's rays the paly shade dispel.

This seems to you surprising. You think, perhaps, that we have constant clear weather. Far from it. We have had, since the beginning of winter, a great deal of hazy, misty weather; and the cold, on those occasions, has frequently been very intense. The sky, however, has been much clearer since the middle of January, than before that time. I have remarked a circumstance here which I never observed in Britain: in the coldest and brightest weather you see an infinite multitude of little shining darts or spiculæ, flying in all directions through the sky. They seem to be about a quarter of an inch in length; they have not more thickness than the finest hair; and their golden colour, glancing as they shoot through the deep azure sky, has a great deal of beauty. If the weather were warmer, and if the climate were more genial, and if we had any belief in ancient mythology, we should take them to be an immense multitude of arrows, discharged by

some mischievous Cupids. Nor would such an explanation be without evidence in the character of the Russians.

*Concreſcunt ſubitæ currenti in flumine cruſtæ :
Undaque jam tergo ferratos ſuſtinet orbes,
Puppibus illa prius patulis, nunc hospita plauſtris.*

Th' encroaching ice the loitering current feels,
And on its boſom bears the ſtudded wheels :
Where erſt the ſtately bark was wont to ride,
Waggonſ thro' paths unknown ſecurely glide.

All this is very juſt, excepting in one particular, namely, that of the wheels. What the ancient Scythians might have done, I know not ; but the modern Russians take the wheels off their carriages in the winter, and, in their ſtead, uſe ſledges. When the ſnow has fallen in its greateſt quantity, and that the roads are beat ſmooth, the motion of the ſledge is very eaſy and agreeable. It is drawn in this country by horſes, and the ſwiftness with which they go, even upon ice, is aſtoniſhing. The horſes here are ſmall, but very nimble and beautiful ; and the Russians, in general, are excellent horſemen. Driving in ſledges is one of the chief amuſements that perſons of rank can have without doors in the winter ; and accordingly, they endeavour to display

display their fancy in the form and embellishments of these whimsical carriages. They are quite open, and the most elegant I have seen have the appearance of shells, painted with showy colours; so that the ladies and gentlemen who drive in them resemble Divinities of the sea. Those used by persons of any distinction are drawn by two horses; but those that ply in the streets are drawn only by one. They fly with astonishing swiftness; so that in the space of five or ten minutes you can be transported to any quarter of the city.

Stirraque impexis induruit horrida barbis.

Their matted beards by the keen climate froze,
With hanging icicles are hard and hoar.

The circumstance, though true, is almost ludicrous; but not inconsistent with the freedom of didactic poetry. In addition to it, I have heard of a circumstance still more ludicrous; namely, that two Russian peasants, saluting one another, have, by the suddenness and intenseness of the frost, had their beards unexpectedly frozen together. I do not, however, attest the fact.

Interea toto non secius aëre ningit.

Meanwhile the skies are dim with falling snows.

The translation here does not express the fact so strongly as the original. For several days together, in the beginning of winter, as I mentioned above, the snow falls without the least intermission.

——— *Confertoque agmine cervi*

Torpent mole nova, et summis vix cornibus exstant, &c.

In growing heaps benumb'd, the crowding deer,
Scarce from beneath their branching antlers rear, &c.

I cannot take upon me to confirm what the Poet describes with so much spirit and fancy concerning the deer; but I have heard a similar account of bear-hunting. The bear, when the snow begins to fall, seeks some hollow, lays himself down, and is soon covered many feet deep. The peasants discover him by a small opening through the snow, by which he breathes. The huntsmen immediately gather around, and pushing a long pike through the wreath or heap, they pierce his body. He wakes, rushes forth, and immediately the dogs assail him.

Ipsi in defossis specubus, secura sub alta

Otia agunt terra, congestaque robora, totasque

Advolvere.

Advolvere focis ulmos, ignique dedere :
 Hic noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula læti
 Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis.
 Talis hyperboreas septem subiecta trioni
 Gens effræna virum Riphæo tunditur Euro ;
 Et pecudum fulvis velantur corpora fetis.

In caverns deep, with oak up-pil'd, they raise;
 And many a branching elm, the crackling blaze.
 From cold secure, around the flaming hearth,
 Waste the long dreary night in social mirth.
 Guiltless of wine, the goblet still goes round,
 With Ceres' juice, and sparkling cyder crown'd.
 Such is the race of savage swarms that lie
 Beneath the regions of the polar sky;
 And, sore afflicted by the piercing east,
 Their limbs with furs, and brinded skins invest.

Some part of this description is more applicable to the northern and more uncivilised parts of Russia, than to the neighbourhood of Peterburgh or Moscow. Perhaps in Siberia; and near the White Sea, some of the inhabitants may have their habitations, during the winter, under ground and in caverns. The fuel here, agreeably to what the poet says, consists chiefly of wood; but it is usually burnt in stoves built in the wall; so that in a Russian house you never see the flame, nor have the comfort and chearfulness of a blazing fire. With regard to the pastime, drink
 and

and dress of the Russians, the Poet is as well informed as though he had lived at Archangel.

You will no doubt remark, in the lines I have quoted, an example of that beautiful gradation and progress of thought, that occur so frequently in the works of Virgil. His description consists of three parts. He begins with inanimated nature; leafless forests, the frost, the snow, and the frozen rivers. He then exhibits living objects, but irrational: "*corpora magna boum*:" "*conferoque agmine cervi*." In the third part he describes the manners of intelligent and rational beings.—I am sure you will thank me for having animated so cold and so dreary a subject with so much excellent poetry.

Adieu.

LETTER IX.

*Religion of the Russians.—Russian Clergy.—
Anecdote of a Priest.*

To the REV. MR. W—.

REV. DEAR SIR,

I CAN offer you nothing very interesting on the article of Religion. You are acquainted with the tenets of the Greek Church. It is pretended that its principles are pure and rational: the practice, I'm sure, is different. I may tell you of pompous ceremonies, magnificent processions, rich dresses, showy pictures, smoking censers, and solemn music; but I cannot tell you that the clergy in general are exemplary, or the laity upright. On no consideration would a Russian peasant omit his fastings, the bending of his body, and the regularity of his attendance on sacred rites: scourge him if you will, yet you cannot oblige him to cross himself with
more

more than three fingers ; but he has no scruple to steal or commit murder. Were I not an eye-witness, I could scarcely conceive it possible, that men should so far impose upon their own minds, as to fancy they are rendering acceptable service to Heaven by the performance of many idle ceremonies, while they are acting inconsistently with every moral obligation. Judge of their religion by the following anecdote.—A Shop-keeper came on some business to the house of an English Merchant, on the evening before the day consecrated to St. Nicholas. The Merchant was engaged, and begged he would return on the morrow, “ To-morrow,” said the pious Russian, “ you are doubtless an infidel ! The very Tartars have more decency : each of them will spend his rouble to-morrow ; and, in honour of St. Nicholas, get becomingly drunk.”

The Russians observe four fasts in the year. Of these, Lent is of the longest duration : and one of the most solemn ceremonies of their religion is performed at Easter, in honour of the resurrection of Christ. In some churches, the very act of resurrection is dramatically

matically represented; and all the ministering priests, moving in procession, cry with a solemn voice, "Christ is arisen!" The ceremony begins about two in the morning, when all the churches are crowded with vast multitudes of people. The following week is spent in revelry and rejoicing. Hardly any business is done; for the Russians of all ranks and opinions, nobility and peasantry, believers and unbelievers, betake themselves with the utmost licentiousness to the pleasures of the table. They all embrace one another, saying, "Christ is arisen," and present eggs to one another, painted with various figures, and inscribed with different devices. Some of these devices are religious; some amorous; and some both together; so that it is no unusual thing to see St. Athanasius with a cross, on one side of an egg; and on the other, a lover falling at the feet of his mistress. Wherever they meet, whether they are acquainted with one another or not, they embrace and give the customary salutation. Nor is it unusual to see two drunken peasants, announcing the glad tidings, embracing, and tumbling into the kennel. In the vacant places of the city, vast crowds assemble, and
sing

sing in their flying chairs, and partake of every sort of amusement. Mean time, every person who chuses, goes into the churches, rings the bells as long as he thinks fit, and believes that he is thus glorifying God, or making expiation for his sins. The week before Lent is in like manner dedicated to riotous diversion; with this difference, that when they part with one another on the evening before the fast commences, they take leave as if they were going on a far journey.

You ask me particularly about the Russian clergy. They are, in general, very ignorant. There are, no doubt, among them men of some learning and ingenuity; but their number is very small. No more learning is usually required of common officiating parish Priests, or Popes, as they call them, than that they be able to read the old Russ or Sclavonian language. They seldom or never preach: and their chief duty consists in the knowledge of forms, and in reading prayers and portions of scripture. You may judge of their improvement by the following fact, which happened indeed in the reign of a
former

former sovereign, but which, without misrepresenting the religious manners of Russia, might have happened at present.—At the end of Lent, as I mentioned above, all ranks of people abandon themselves to feasting and rioting: but this they are not permitted to do till the clergyman of the place visits their houses, and gives them his benediction. It happened that a Priest, having had some dispute with one of his flock, intentionally passed his house, when making his progress through his parish, and omitted giving him the benediction which he had given the rest of his parishioners. The man was exceedingly afflicted, to be obliged to fast, and to say prayers, while all his neighbours were feasting and getting drunk, was not to be borne; it seemed still more insufferable to his wife. In all emergencies of this kind, the fair sex are good at giving good counsel. Softened by the admonitions of his help-mate, the husband waited upon the Priest; acknowledged his fault; implored his forgiveness, and craved his blessing. But the holy man was inexorable. His suppliant was forced to employ his last resource; it was his corps-de-reserve;

reserve; a goose, which he had concealed under his cloak. Its eloquence was irresistible; its intercession was powerful; and the effect instantaneous. For immediately, on sight of it, the countenance of the holy man was changed; his severity was softened into complacency, and, from the extreme benignity of his nature, he was disposed to grant remission to a repenting sinner, who had given such evidence of his contrition. But one difficulty remained: the Penitent's house was several miles distant; the day was far spent; next day was Easter; and the Clergyman was obliged to attend in church. What was to be done? for it was essential, in giving the usual benediction, that it should be pronounced close by the four corners of the house. But the goose quickened his invention, and seemed like inspiration to the man of God. An expedient was immediately suggested to him. "Hold your cap," said he, to the wondering Penitent. He religiously held open his cap. Then the Priest, crossing himself, bending, and holding his mouth over it, pronounced the benedictions and exorcisms, which he would have pronounced at the man's house. "Now," said he, "hold it close;

“ close; get home as fast as you can, and at
“ every corner of your house, crossing your-
“ self, open a corner of your cap, and my
“ presence may be dispensed with.” The
man obeyed; thanked God, and got drunk.

But, with all the superstition and ignorance of the Russian clergy, it must be acknowledged in their favour, that they are tolerant, and very charitable to those of a faith different from their own. They say, all men may go to heaven; but that the chief place will be assigned to the Russians. This tolerating spirit seems to me very wonderful: I shall attend to it more minutely: and if I shall think myself able to say any thing satisfactory concerning its causes, I will very frankly, as on former occasions, lay my opinion before you. * * * * *

LETTER X.

The Russian Spring.

DEAR SIR,

May 12, 1769.

I EMBRACE the opportunity of a courier going to London, to inform you of my health. Though the winter has been very severe, and the climate very different from that of England, I have had no sort of ailment. Our weather for some days past has been very warm, yet we have scarcely any appearance of vegetation; and while the woods with you are filled with primroses and hyacinths, we see not a green leaf. Indeed, when the wind blows from the east, the cold returns with it; and the river is filled with large fragments of ice from the Ladago. Till the beginning of April, the ice was as firm on the Neva as in the middle of January. It broke up a few weeks ago, and announced its departure with a dreadful noise.

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If climate could have any effect on national characters, the proofs ought to be manifest in Russia. The heats and colds are excessive; and the transition, from the one extreme to the other, sudden. A fortnight ago the ground was covered with snow; this day the heat is almost insufferable: at present scarcely a bud appears; but we expect, in a few days, to see the fields and trees invested with verdure.—A short letter this, you will say, and a short account of a Russian spring. It is so;—but a long description would be unsuitable, when a Russian spring is the subject.

LETTER XI.

State of Agriculture in Russia.

DEAR SIR,

June 14, 1769.

I AM just returned from an excursion of thirty versts* into the country. I was at a place called Crasnocelo, where an Englishman, who has been some time in this country, has established a manufacture of printed cloth. The weather was very fine, and the province of Ingria, south and east from St. Petersburg, appeared delightful. The country is perfectly green; varied with woods, consisting chiefly of birch and fir; and interspersed with a number of rising grounds.

I travelled a considerable way along the banks of a beautiful little river, bordered with wood. In the neighbourhood of Crasnocelo is situated a romantic round hill, covered

* About 20 miles.

vered with birch, larix, and other trees ; and in the middle of it, a dell, about a quarter of a mile in length. The sides of the eminence that surrounds it are very steep ; nor is there any access to it but by a sloping entry to the west, and not more than twenty feet wide. This delightful little spot is the immediate property of the crown ; it is laid out like a garden, and has in the middle an elegant small pavilion. Yet I should have liked it better unadorned, or adorned only by the hand of nature.

The soil, in this province, seems tolerably good ; in some places a deep clay, and in others sandy. It is, as you may suppose, very little improved. A Russian plough is, indeed, a ridiculous object ; so light, that you may lift it in your hand : it is drawn by one small horse ; the plough-share is no bigger than a large carving knife, and serves no other purpose than to loosen the surface of the earth. Yet, in some places, you see tolerable crops of barley, rye, and buckity wheat ; and, in many places,

extensive meadows, luxuriant with natural grafs.

Indeed, as agriculture is still in its infancy in Russia, on account of the slavery of the peasants, the present Empress endeavours to promote some knowledge of this necessary art, by forming colonies of strangers. A few versts from this city, there is a settlement of Germans, consisting of about a thousand people; and the following, I have been informed, is the manner and terms of their establishment:—One of the colonists receives from the Empress a horse, an ox, a cow, four or five hundred rubles, and a portion of crown lands. These lands he must cultivate; and, at the end of ten years, he must repay the crown the sum of money which he has received. He is then at liberty to leave his farm, and settle wherever he pleases. If he remain, the farm, on paying a small annual rent to the crown, becomes his property for ever. There are several of these colonies in different parts of Russia: they consist chiefly of German Lutherans, and are indulged in the free exercise of their religion.

I hope

I hope to hear from you soon; and am,
&c.

P. S. On the fourth of this month, at twenty minutes past three in the morning, I had the good fortune to see the transit of Venus.

L E T T E R XII.

Progress of the War.

IT is really impossible for me, my dear Sir, to give you a circumstantial account of all the rencontres, and various acts of hostility committed, I might rather say perpetrated, in the present barbarous and complex war. I doubt much whether it will ever be possible for the clearest and most accurate historian to deliver them in a regular, particular, and complete detail. You will see the propriety of this remark, by observing the present situation of the different combatants and opponents. The whole of Poland is in a state of distraction. There are confederacies and associations of armed men in every quarter; and almost in every quarter there are Russian troops, or such as are enlisted under the royal banner. Of consequence there are constant encounters: sometimes the one party, and sometimes the other, is successful. These conflicts contribute nothing to
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the re-establishment of public affairs : they are bloody and barbarous : all the effect they produce is, to extend and diversify the miseries of the country ; nor, in any of them that ever I heard of, is there, even in individuals, any such display of conduct, military talents, and heroism, as, independent of their effects, would render them interesting. It is really wonderful, that the present civil war in Poland has called forth in that nation, no gallant spirits to draw upon themselves particular attention, and to rise above the general mass of furious and fierce partizans. No supereminent abilities have appeared among them. How different have been the effects produced by the civil wars both in France and in England ! On the frontiers of Russia too you have the same uniform and shocking spectacle. You see in one quarter, parties of savage Tartars committing cruel depredations on New-Servia ; and parties of no less savage Cossacks, perpetrating bloody outrages in Wallachia and Bessarabia. Fertile provinces rendered desolate, towns and villages in flames ; numerous herds of cattle rapaciously driven away ; the inhabitants butchered, or carried into captivity, constitute the dreadful features of Russian and
Tartarian

Tartarian warfare. When you consider these things, I persuade myself you will not regret my disinclination, and indeed inability, to lay before you circumstantial details. One event, however, has happened on the eastern frontier, which may be of singular importance in the progress of the war. The Russians have taken possession of Asoph; and as it may be of great service in assisting them to carry on a naval war with their adversaries, they have employed a number of men in repairing the fortifications.

As far as I am able, I shall give you a more particular account of the motions and achievements of the great armies under Prince Gallitzin and the Grand Vizir. The great Russian army, in the present campaign, seems to direct its chief operations against Moldavia. Perhaps, as this Province is contiguous to Poland, it may be the intention of the Empress to prevent, or cut off, as early as possible, any intercourse between the Turks and the Poles. Accordingly, Prince Gallitzin led his army, as soon as he was able, to the banks of the Neister, intending, by a sudden attack, to seize Chotzim, the frontier town. He crossed the
river,

river, and on the thirtieth of April attacked an army of above twenty-five thousand Turks, in their entrenchments under the walls. They were defended by the artillery of the fortress. Caraman Pacha, who commanded them, made his cavalry charge the right wing of the Russians; but notwithstanding the valour of their attack, and the advantages of situation, the Turks were totally routed and driven out of their camp. General Ismaelof pursued them, and it is said, that the bloodshed, both in the battle and the pursuit, was very considerable. About the same time some considerable advantages were gained by Prince Prosorowsky over a detachment of the enemy, at no great distance from Chotzim. These successes you may be sure, and this happy commencement of the war, occasion much rejoicing in the capital. I heard *Te Deum* sung before the Empress in the Casan church, on account of them. Indeed, the issue of this war may be of great consequence, not only to the Russian empire, but to the Empress in particular. Her elevation to the throne was not auspicious; and there are, no doubt, many persons in the empire not yet reconciled to her government.

Many

Many of the nobility choose rather to reside at Moscow, than with the court at St. Petersburg. The Russians are in general fickle, and fond of change. The Great Duke will soon be of age, and it was understood by many, when the Empress was crowned, that when her son was old enough to reign, she was to resign. An unsuccessful foreign war tends to impair the authority of all despots; and this is the first foreign war she has ever waged. To her, therefore, in circumstances so particular, the issue of the war is of the greatest importance. Accordingly she exerts every effort; and, actuated in this manner, we are not to expect a languid, slow, and protracted contest, but a war of spirited and vigorous operation. The reduction of Chotzim, it is expected, will be the immediate consequence of Galitzin's victory; and in the mean time a considerable fleet is preparing at Cronstadt, to attempt some important stroke in the Mediterranean or Archipelago. One of the best officers in the Russian fleet, is Commodore Greig, a native of Fifeshire. His naval abilities are reckoned very great; yet that simplicity and modesty of deportment which usually accompany, and too often,

often veil, the most distinguished merit, may with a people, so fond of shew and glare as the Russians are, and so apt to judge of men, according as they seem to entertain a high opinion of themselves, keep out of fight for a time, and even lessen the value of his abilities. * * *

L E T T E R XIII.

Anecdotes of Count Munich.

Island of Caminioioistrow, July, 1769.

“**I**SLAND of Caminioioistrow,” methinks I hear you repeat with terror, after observing the date of my letter, recollecting yourself, turning over to a map of Russia, and with an anxious eye looking towards Siberia. No occasion, my good friend, for your fears; I have not been guilty of treason, and am neither banished to the frozen Sea, nor to the borders of China. The place I write from, is an island in our river, where Lord C. and his family are to pass the weeks, you will observe I don’t say months, of the summer.

It is indeed a delightful recess; distant no more than three miles from St. Petersburg. It is the northmost of a numerous cluster
of

of islands formed in the mouth of the Neva, where it enters the gulph of Finland, and is joined to Petersburfky island by a bridge of nine boats. It is scarcely two miles in length, and not more than half a mile broad. This, and all the neighbouring islands, and the banks of the river, are adorned with wood, chiefly with birch, which grows very tall and bushy, and whose fine silver bark makes a beautiful contrast with the deep verdure of the leaves. Our little isle, for there are some much larger, is finely interspersed with lawns and meadows; and its fields and shores are diversified with a number of flowers. The wild flower, which seems to grow here in the greatest abundance, is the lily of the valley. The river, branching out into many clear deep streams, laves the green borders of the different islands: and the fragrance wafted from the trees, especially in an evening, heightens the pleasure of the scene. Nothing can be more agreeable than to row around this and the adjacent shores, in a fine morning, or in a moon-light night. The Russian bargemen usually sing as they row; they sing in choruses;

ruses ; the music is sometimes accompanied with a horn ; and in the stillness of the night, and, when heard at some distance, it has a solemn effect.

In this island is a small palace belonging to the great Duke, which Lord C. possesses during the summer ; and adjoining to it is a little garden, laid out with arched and gravel walks. It was built by Count Bestuchef, who was Chancellor during part of the reign of the late Empress. While he continued in favour, he was regarded as Prime Minister, and the foremost man in the empire. His door was daily beset with coaches ; and all the nobility looked up to him, almost as to their sovereign : his smile constituted their happiness, and his frown their misery. But having fallen into disgrace, he was instantly stripped of his honours, offices, and estate ; and was exiled into some remote and inhospitable corner of that empire which he formerly governed.

Oh how wretched

Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours !
 There is betwixt that smile he would aspire to,
 That sweet aspect of princes and his ruin,
 More pangs and tears than war or women have ;

And

And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again.

Reverses of this sort are not unusual here, and in other countries that are governed by despots. In the life of no great man in this empire were they illustrated more remarkably, than in that of the famous Count Munich. The old age of this celebrated General was marked by some striking circumstances, which are not very generally known, and of which the following account may afford you some amusement.

Count Munich was Prime Minister of Russia, in the reign of the Empress Anna Ivanowna, and in that of her successor Ivan; was condemned to suffer death by the Empress Elizabeth, but received a pardon on the scaffold; and, instead of being beheaded, was banished into Siberia. Count Osterman, his political rival, was to have suffered death at the same time, and in the same manner: he ascended the scaffold; saw the axe and the executioner; committed his soul to heaven; laid his head upon the block; expected the deadly blow; was lifted up; had his eyes uncovered; and was told that the Empress

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had

had spared his life, but that he must go into banishment. One might ask, whether, in this instance, mercy wore the vizard of cruelty, or cruelty the vizard of mercy?—The Countess Munich had the liberty of choosing, either to accompany her husband into a wild and dreary region in the north of Asia; or to remain with her acquaintance and friends in Petersburg. Without hesitation or reluctance she chose to follow her husband.

The commanding officer of the fortress where the Count was confined, was strictly enjoined to allow him no more than the mere necessaries of life; and was ordered to indulge him in no alleviation of his sufferings. But, fortunately for Munich, the Officer had served under him in the Turkish war, and was a person of a generous and humane disposition. Moved by veneration for his General, whom he had seen performing so many gallant exploits, and conceiving himself out of the reach of information, by his great distance from the capital, he did every thing in his power to soften the rigour of exile; and, among other indulgences, permitted him the
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use of materials for writing, and to have some intercourse with the inhabitants of the country. The Countess found amusement, and pleasure, and relief, during many solitary years, in instructing the children of the neighbouring peasants. For this alleviation of her misfortune, she was indebted to the same goodness of heart, that carried her from the gaiety of social life into the midst of a lonely desert: for had she been proud and selfish, she could not have submitted to, or been capable of, any such employment; and must consequently have been deprived of the comfort which it afforded her. Even the discharge of her duty to her husband, and his affectionate gratitude, could not otherwise have preserved her from pining. The Count found amusement in the exercises of a well-regulated understanding; he employed himself in writing the memoirs of his life, and in drawing plans of sieges and fortifications.

But these alleviations of their captivity were interrupted. A Russian officer passing through the country, and staying some days at the fortress, observed the liberty enjoyed by Munich, and had the singular inhumanity,

on his return to St. Petersburg, to inform Elizabeth of all he had seen. The dispositions which led him to inform, led him also to exaggerate. He insinuated, that the Count was plotting mischief against the Empress, or against the state: and that his plans and writings, were not matter of mere amusement. Accordingly, the friend of Munich was suddenly recalled, divested of his authority, and threatened with the punishment of treasonable disobedience. But the Count, in order to exculpate his benefactor, sent all the papers he possessed, those memoirs, and those plans which were the objects of his affection, and his solace for many winters of dismal solitude: he sent them with the utmost readiness to St. Petersburg. This effort cost him a grievous pang. They were burnt. But they were an oblation offered on the altar of grateful friendship; for he had the consolation of learning, that they had been the means of preserving his friend from rigorous punishment. He had not, however, the happiness of seeing him return to Siberia.

On the accession of Peter the Third he was relieved from his captivity; and, after an exile
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of twenty-five years, was restored to his former honours. One of the first persons he met with at Court, after his restoration, was his old enemy and rival Count Osterman, who, as was above mentioned, had been exiled at the same time with himself, and was now also at Court, for the first time, since his recall. What, do you apprehend, were the sentiments of these two remarkable men, on this extraordinary and unexpected meeting? They had been equally ambitious; had possessed similar political abilities; had been engaged in the same pursuits; competitors for the same pre-eminence, and of course in violent opposition to each other: they had both been disappointed, had suffered similar punishment, and were now, after a long period, in the same manner, and at the same instant, released. Would any remains of their old animosity still lurk in their bosoms, and still darken their hearts? Or, rather, cured of the ambition which had formerly set them at variance, would they not regard one another with some complacency? Would they not feel as if they had met in heaven? And, despising the littleness of their former dissensions, would not the recollection unite their affections? Such, perhaps, would

have been the tendency of their feelings, if the presence of so many spectators, who beheld them with gazing curiosity, had not impressed their minds with the dread of impropriety, and so restrained their emotions. The circumstances were indeed disagreeable; and the Emperor, by whose clemency they were restored, would have shewn a delicate, instead of a whimsical generosity, if he had prevented a situation so very painful. I am indeed persuaded, by the following anecdote, that if the heart of Munich had been allowed to flow unrestrained, it would have flowed in a full stream of complacency.—Soon after his return to St. Petersburg, the person who had so maliciously informed against the Officer who had shewn him so much attention in Siberia, sought an early opportunity of waiting upon him, threw himself at his feet, and craved his forgiveness. “Go,” said the old man, “were my heart like yours, perhaps I might seek for revenge; but as I am out of your reach you have no reason to be afraid.” An anecdote of the same kind is related of the Emperor Adrian. After his elevation to the imperial dignity, meeting a person who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy: “My good friend,”

friend," cried he, "you have escaped, for I
" am Emperor."

Munich died not long after the accession of Catharine the Second: and I have heard, that though much solicited, he would never accept of any marks of her favour. "I am an old
" man," he would sometimes say: "I have already suffered many misfortunes; and if I
" purchased a few years of life by the prostitution of my opinions, I should make but a
" bad exchange." He had, at the time of Peter's dethronement, given him some very spirited counsel: "Go forth," said he, "put yourself at the head of the troops you have with
" you, or go forth alone; address the two
" regiments that are marching against you:
" Tell them you are their sovereign, the
" grandson of Peter the Great; ask them if
" they have been aggrieved, and assure them
" of full redress. I will forfeit my hoary
" head, if they do not fling down their arms,
" and fall prostrate before you." But Peter was infatuated; would not follow his counsels; and was dethroned.---The present Empress shews every mark of regard and attention to the son and grandsons of Munich. Adieu.

LETTER XIV. (EXTRACT.)

Progress of the War.

June 1769.

***** I INFORMED you in my last political letter that we expected daily accounts of the reduction of Chotzim. This event, however, has not taken place. On the contrary, Galitzin has at present relinquished his attempt, and has repassed the Neister. This occasions a good deal of surprise; for people, who know not upon how many minute circumstances military operations very often depend, are ever sanguine in their expectations, and, in the ardour of their wishes, not only desire but expect, that every advantage shall be instantly followed by something still more marvellous and important.

I mentioned to you, that Prince Galitzin's design was to reduce Chotzim by a sudden assault.

fault. But he was disappointed by the dexterity of Caraman Pacha, who threw so great a part of his army into the place, that it was utterly impossible for the Russians to proceed against it in the manner they intended; nor were they provided, it is said, with artillery for prosecuting a regular siege. Add to this, that the Russian army is by no means so numerous as the news-papers report. Besides, the disorders in Poland were rising to such a height, as perhaps made it necessary for the great Russian army to give some attention to that quarter. That the Poles should be particularly furious at present, is not merely to be accounted for by their hope of assistance from the Sultan, and the removal of some of the Russian troops that were stationed among them, to the borders of Turkey; but from some late measures of the Russian court.

The Empress, as was already mentioned, is actuated by many considerations, not to protract, but to prosecute the war with vigour. This principle appears, and throws itself out in a variety of operations: in consequence of the general determination, it is applied in all cases; and it is applied in some cases that ought to

to have been excepted, and where it is not expedient. It is owing to this that the Empress issued a proclamation, and which produced a similar declaration from Constantinople, allowing none of the Poles, in the present contest, to remain neuter; but to take part, in a decided and active manner, with one or other of the contending powers: and this of itself has thrown them into the greatest ferment.--- From one or all of these causes, Prince Galitzin has found himself under the necessity of repassing the Neister. Nor is it unlikely that his outposts, and the detachments sent from his army, either for provisions, forage, or to reconnoitre the enemy, may have sustained considerable losses. The Turks actually contend, that he has been compelled, by force of arms, to abandon the siege: and, according to every thing I can learn, the superiority of the Turkish cavalry give them a decided advantage in all skirmishes, and on all occasions, where the Russian infantry is not engaged. * * * * *

LETTER

LETTER XV.

*Excursion into Carelia.—State of the
Finlanders.*

DEAR SIR,

July, 1769.

I AM just returned from a very agreeable excursion into the province of Carelia. The appearance of the country at this season is remarkably pleasant. It rises in little hills, and is a good deal covered with birch, fir, aller, and other trees. In the woods there are a number of hurtleberries, cranberries, and wild strawberries. The soil is in general light and sandy, and the country is diversified with little green lawns, meadows, and corn-fields. I was surprized at the size of the grasshoppers; they are at least an inch and a half in length. The houses in the villages are constructed of wood; and the inhabitants of this country are chiefly Fins.

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The Fins are neither so tall, nor so handsome as the Russians. Their hair is light-coloured, and their complexions fair; so that though their children are very comely, the poorness of their diet, and the inclement weather to which they are so much exposed, give them, when grown up to youth and manhood, even a miserable appearance. Their language is totally different from that of the Russians: being chiefly Lutherans, they are also of a different religion; and though all the subjects of this empire may be considered on an equal footing in regard to freedom, yet having been conquered by the Russians, they are considered as their inferiors. They are accordingly treated with the utmost insult and abuse.

Nothing indeed can be more deplorable than the condition of a people reduced by, and constituting a part of another nation, but differing from them in language, customs and religion. Such differences will expose them to contempt; the contempt they meet with will in time make them deserve it: treated with no respect by others, who have power over them, they will lose all sense of character, and have no respect for themselves: thus, not dar-

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ing to express their resentment in a resolute and manly manner, they will harbour sentiments of latent malice ; they will indulge ignominious vices ; become mean, insidious, and deceitful. Perhaps circumstances of this sort may account for the character of many modern Jews ; and, so long as these circumstances continue, they will always be a separate people. ---On the dispersion of that famous nation, many things concurred to keep them distinct from the other nations among whom they dwelt, and to render them even objects of their aversion. This was particularly the case in Europe. Among the European states the manners and maxims of chivalry were about to commence : men subsisted by war and agriculture ; commerce and manufactures were not held in esteem. But the Jews were neither proprietors of land, nor retainers on great men : they no longer made use of the sword ; and subsisted neither by agriculture nor military depredation. Contemned and detested for their origin, their religion, their hatred of Christianity, and their persecution of its holy Author, they felt that they had no character to lose, and betook themselves for subsistence to such employments as the Europeans despised. They
earned

earned a livelihood by traffic; and by such occupations as among the Romans, and the northern nations who rose on the ruins of Rome, were never practised but by the dregs of the people. This therefore added to the contempt and hatred of their condition; and contributed, by a corresponding process, to render them really base and despicable. Perceiving and feeling that they were already hated and despised, they had not sufficient fortitude to contend with, and overcome the miserable influences of situation; they suffered themselves to deserve both contempt and aversion, and not only engaged in employments which were held dishonourable, but acted dishonourably in such employments. They not only practised commerce, but were guilty of fraud. As Europe became civilized, they found that they were enabled, by their occupations, both to subsist and become wealthy. Their situation, therefore, however despised by the Gentiles, had considerable advantages, which compensated for the contempt they suffered, and reconciled them to their condition. It ought also to be remarked, that the opportunity which fraud and deceit gave them of retaliating in some measure the injuries they underwent, as
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it gratified their resentment, tended to darken their understandings, and hindered them from discerning the atrocity of their conduct.— Upon the whole, of this digression it may not be improper to remark, that those who enjoy pre-eminence, and treat their inferiors with contempt, merely on account of difference of situation, trespass against the interests of society, by compelling men to become worthless. It may also be mentioned, that as situations of this sort are of such powerful, as well as of such malignant influence, if there are persons who, in defiance of them, assert the dignity of human nature by the inflexible dignity of their own conduct, they do honour to the species.

In returning from my excursion I saw some very beautiful landships. Travelling through a thin wood of birch and alder, I had a fine view to the south of the Gulph of Finland, bounded by *Æstthonia*, which presented the palaces of Peterhoff and Oranibaum, and was diversified by a number of vessels that lay at anchor. Towards the east was a green and bushy wilderness; the numerous islands of the Neva adorned with wood; the river flow-

ing around them in different channels; and the gilded or painted spires of the city rising, as it were, from the midst of a forest. The sun setting bright in the west, and pouring a blaze of radiance on the gulph, heightened in a remarkable manner the beauty of the landscape. I went into a barge at the mouth of the Neva; the course of the stream was perfectly smooth; the banks and borders of the fragrant and green islands, as I was rowed along, were for ever changing their appearance; and the bargemen struck their oars according to the cadences of their vocal concert. The moon, shining over the whole with temperate but unclouded radiance, rendered the scene very soft and solemn.

Adieu.

LETTER XVI. (EXTRACT.)

Fables translated from the German of LESSING.

AMONG those in St. Petersburg who seek amusement in reading, I find that German literature is much in fashion. Indeed many German authors have distinguished themselves of late, not only by their learning and depth of philosophical research, but by elegance of composition, and the graces of fine writing. They seem particularly fond of fables: there is a simplicity in their language which is well suited to that species of composition; and two of their fabulists, Lessing and Gellert, the one in verse, and the other in prose, have risen to very high reputation. With Gellert you are already acquainted; and of Lessing's inventive talents, you will perhaps agree with me, that the following translations of his fifth and fifty-fourth fables are no unfavourable specimens.

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JUPITER

JUPITER *and the* HORSE. A FABLE.

[Translated from the German of Lessing.]

“Father of men and beasts!” said the Horse, approaching the throne of Jupiter, “it is
“said of me, that I am one of the most beautiful
“tiful animals with which thou hast adorned
“the world; and self-love inclines me to believe the character just: yet in some particulars, my appearance might admit of
“improvement.”

“Of what kind? Inform me. I am willing to receive instruction,” said the Father of all, and smiled.

“I would probably run better,” replied the Steed, “if my legs were longer, and more
“slender; a neck like a swan would be more
“becoming; a wider chest would improve my
“strength; and, since thou hast ordained me
“to carry thy darling, Man, might I not have
“a natural saddle growing upon my back, instead
“stead

“stead of that with which the well-meaning
“rider confines me.”

“Have patience,” resumed the God; and with an awful voice, pronounced his creative word *. Life darted into the dust; inert matter became alive; organized members were formed; they were joined in one consistent body; and, before the throne, arose—the hideous Camel! The Horse shuddered, and shook with horror.

“See,” said Jupiter, “longer and more
“slender legs; a neck like that of a swan;
“a large chest, and a natural saddle. Would
“you chuse to have *such* a shape?”---The Horse quaked with extreme aversion.

“Go,” continued the God, “take counsel
“from this event; be henceforth satisfied with
“your condition; and, in order to remind you
“of the warning you have now received”---so saying he cast on the Camel a † preserving look, “Live,” said he, “new inhabitant of

* Sparch das wort der schoepfung.

† Warf einen erhaltenden blick.

“ the world ! and may the Horse never see thee
“ but with trembling aversion ! ”

The SHE-GOATS. A FABLE.

[Translated from the German of LESSING.]

The She-goats requested Jupiter to give them horns; for in the beginning they had none. But the God desired them to think better of their request, and to confide in the care he had of them; for that along with horns, they might be obliged, perhaps, to receive some disagreeable appendage. They persisted in their demand. They received horns---and a beard; for in the beginning they had none. What vexation they felt for these filthy beards ! more vexation than joy for their foolish horns.

L E T T E R XVII.

*Progress of the War.—Retreat of the Russians
from Chotzim.*

DEAR SIR,

SINCE the last accounts I gave you of the war in Moldavia several events have happened, at first favourable, but now unfavourable, to the Russians.

Prince Galitzin, with his army considerably strengthened, returned to the Neister; crossed that river on the 13th of July, and fell unexpectedly on a Turkish army in the neighbourhood of Chotzim. He gained a complete victory; and of consequence renewed the siege, or blockade, which he had formerly been obliged to relinquish. I need not enter into a minute account of the circumstances of the battle. Suffice it to say upon the whole, that in all general engagements, where the stress of the conflict depends on infantry and artillery,

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the

the numbers and impetuous valour of the Turks, their sabres and horses, are not a match for the steady discipline of European armies. Indeed, there seems to have been great misconduct in the Turkish officers, in suffering themselves to be surprised; and we are told, in confirmation of this, that Caraman Pacha beheaded the Seraskier who commanded that army.

Meantime the great Turkish army, commanded by Mesfuge Pacha the Grand Vizir, advanced from the Danube, and took post at different places between that river and the Neister. The slowness of this General's operations has occasioned more uneasiness at St. Petersburg, than if he had advanced with confident and impetuous ardour. He is reported to be a man of comprehensive and steady understanding. He is sensible that want of discipline is the great defect of his army. He therefore protracts his operations, in order that his soldiers may be properly trained, and reduced to regular subordination. He is also sensible, that more harm may be done the Russians by harassing them, and by attacking the detachments, than by engaging them in a pitched battle. By this Fabian conduct, he

**

has

has already rendered essential service to the Sultan. For although some troops were defeated, that attempted in the beginning of August to throw supplies into Chotzim; yet his detachments in other quarters have been so successful, and the Russian army is so much weakened, and so much alarmed, that they have again raised the siege, and repassed the Neister. But this they were not able to effectuate without considerable loss. Their losses, however, have been greatly exaggerated; and if I am not misinformed, the regular troops in Prince Galitzin's army were not much more than the numbers that, according to some accounts, were said to have been slain.

These things have flattened our spirits. The people are beginning to murmur. Rumours of conspiracies are secretly propagated; several persons, I have heard, either guilty or suspected of treason, have disappeared: but these things are not noised abroad, they are only mentioned in confidential whispers. The people are prohibited from speaking or writing about politics. The Empress tells them, that as her maternal care for her dear people

her sleepless by night, and busy by day ;— and I really believe that her nights are as sleepless as her days are busy :—they have no occasion to give themselves any further trouble about public affairs, than to act implicitly as she directs ; and, in order the more effectually to save her dear people from unnecessary labour, she not only exhorts, but actually forbids them to speak, write, or think politics. The spies are busy : the suspected great men are closely watched : For,

Not a Thane of them, but in his house
She has a servant fee'd.

Happy king of England ! who may go about with as much security after a defeat, as after a victory ; who has no occasion for a board of spies against his own subjects ; and may allow his people to speak, write, and think as they please.

Among other changes, which, it is said, will take place in the Russian armies, Prince Galitzin is to be recalled, and the chief command given to Count Romanzoff. General Panin, brother to the Prime Minister, is to command an army near Bender, and the
mouths

mouths of the Danube. Both Panin and Romanzoff have the reputation of great military talents; and the first, for I have not seen the last, has indeed a very bold, blunt, military countenance; very different from the smooth smiling aspect of the Prime Minister. These changes may be for the public good; yet some court-interest and intrigue may have helped them forward. Count Romanzoff's mother is much regarded at court; so also is his sister, the Countess Bruce. You will be surprised at the name. Count Bruce is the descendant of a Scots gentleman of that name, who came into Russia after the discomfiture of the Scots by Oliver Cromwell; and who, having recommended himself to the good graces of the court, married a Russian lady, and was advanced to considerable honours. A gentleman, named Hamilton, who came in the same ship with Bruce, passed into Sweden; and, in the last war, his descendant, Count Hamilton, commanded the Swedish army in Pomerania.

A fleet of seven sail of the line, and some frigates, having with them a considerable number of land-forces, and under the command

mand of Admiral Elphinston, will set out, very soon, on an expedition into the Mediterranean. The Admiral is a Captain in the British navy : and, among other important services, conducted the British fleet through the Straits of Bahama, when the English, in the last war, invaded Cuba. Admiral Spiridoff, with a considerable force, sailed some time ago.

LETTER XVIII.

Progress of the War.—A Russian Pasquinade:

“ Those whom the gods distinguish by their hate,
“ They first confound, and then resign to fate.”

October 17, 1769.

I Mentioned to you the prudent conduct of Messaue Pacha, the Grand Vizir; and his plan of wasting the Russian army in small conflicts, rather than of hazarding a general action. I also informed you of his success; and that his adversaries, in a very shattered condition, had again retreated into Poland. But his measures did not meet with the approbation, nor he himself with the recompence, which such ability merited. He was disliked by his army; so little qualified are soldiers to judge of the merits or demerits of a commander. The strictness of his discipline was ill suited to their licentiousness and irregularity. Accordingly, complaints were brought against

against him at Constantinople, and they were listened to with the greater readiness, that the deliberate slowness of his operations by no means corresponded with the sanguine expectations and impetuosity that reigned in the councils of the Sultan. He was accordingly recalled from Moldavia, and beheaded; and Moldovani Ali Pacha, the new Grand Vizir, was promoted to the chief command.

The measures of Moldovani have been violent and precipitate. He has not only put to death Caraman Pacha, but has lost all the advantages gained by the prudent conduct of his predecessor; and has brought such ruin on the Turkish army under his command, as may contribute, by its consequences, to decide the fate of the war.—Prince Galitzin returned again to the banks of the Neister. The Grand Vizir, with a prodigious army, was posted in the neighbourhood of Chotzim. He immediately determined to attack his opponents; but the troops, which he sent to the other side of the river for that purpose, at two different times, and who exerted themselves with obstinate valour, suffered total discomfiture. He still persisted in his rash design; and
laid

laid one large bridge, in place of three, which he had formerly used, across the river. Upon this he sent over twelve thousand men: they were to be followed by the rest of the army; but before the junction could be made, a dreadful tempest arose; the river was swelled to a prodigious height; the bridge was swept away; and the Turks that had crossed the river fell a prey to the Russians. Whether or not any terms of capitulation were offered them, I have not heard; if there were, they were not accepted. The Russians attacked them with unrelenting fury: and thus, in sight of the Vizir and his army, who must have suffered on this occasion the most excruciating torment, as they were unable to give them any assistance; and in sight, I believe, of Chotzim, the finest troops in the Turkish army were cut in pieces. The garrison of Chotzim, and the rest of the Vizir's forces, after the first transports of their rage, gave way to terror and consternation. They deserted the fortresses, fled from their encampment, and made the best of their way to the Danube. Thus the Russians are become masters of Moldavia and Walachia; and have finished the campaign with honour.

Still,

Still, however, the nomination of Count Romanzoff to the command of the grand army continues. Prince Galitzin returns to court; and will be received with every mark of distinction. Yet that his conduct is not approved of, is abundantly manifest, and the following Pasquinade, which has been allowed to circulate, even since the reduction of Chotzim, will shew you sufficiently how he stands with the public. It will also shew you with what licentiousness and severity the Russians, if they were allowed, would indulge themselves in political satire.

“ Prince Galitzin having been obliged to
“ retreat from Chotzim, found himself much
“ embarrassed. One night he was so anxious
“ he could not sleep. He rose, dressed him-
“ self, and heard two persons speaking at the
“ door of his tent. An old Soldier was tell-
“ ing his dream to the centinel. I dreamed,
“ said he, that I was in a battle; that my
“ head was cut off; consequently that I died;
“ and consequently went to heaven. I knock-
“ ed at the door. Peter came with a bunch
“ of keys, and made so much noise, that he
“ wakened God, who came in great haste,
“ and

“ and enquired what was the matter ? Why,
“ says Peter, there is a great war upon earth,
“ between the Russians and the Turks. And
“ who, said the Supreme Being, commands
“ the Russians ? Count Munich, replied the
“ Saint. Then, said God, I may go and sleep.
“ I wakened, said the old Soldier ; but fell
“ asleep, and dreamed again. The circum-
“ stances of the second dream were precisely
“ the same with those of the first, excepting
“ that the war in which I fancied myself en-
“ gaged, was not that of Count Munich, but
“ that which we are now waging. Accord-
“ ingly, when God asked Peter, who commanded
“ the Russians ? the Saint told him, It was
“ Prince Galitzin. Then, said God, get me
“ my boots, for now they need me.—In a
“ short time after, the Turkish bridge over
“ the Neister was swept away by a flood.”

LETTER XIX. (EXTRACT.)

With some Verses.

*** **T**HE following lines were written during my stay in the island of Caminioiofrow. The fine weather, the agreeable situation, and the delightful scenery around the banks of the Neva, provoked my old propensity to rhiming. I thought it was at an end; but you know what Horace says, about inclinations that are either natural, or by indulgence rendered habitual.

TO A YOUNG LADY*,

With some Flowers.

To thee, sweet smiling maid, I bring
 The beauteous progeny of spring:
 In every breathing bloom I find
 Some pleasing emblem of thy mind.

* Now V—fs of S——t.

The blushes of that opening rose
Thy tender modesty disclose.
These snow-white lilies of the vale
Diffusing fragrance to the gale,
No ostentatious tints assume,
Vain of their exquisite perfume;
Careless, and sweet, and mild, we see
In them a lovely type of thee.
In yonder gay-enamel'd field,
Serene that azure blossom smil'd :
Not changing with the changeful sky,
Its faithless tints inconstant fly ;
For, unimpair'd by winds and rain,
I saw th' unalter'd hue remain.
So were thy mild affections prov'd,
Thy heart by Fortune's frown unmov'd,
Pleas'd to administer relief,
In times of woe would solace grief.
These flowers with genuine beauty glow ;
The tints from Nature's pencil flow :
What artist could improve their bloom ?
Or sweeter make their sweet perfume ?
Fruitless the vain attempt. Like these
Thy native truth, thine artless ease,
Fair, unaffected maid, can never fail to
please.

LETTER XX.

The Funeral of the Princess Kurakin.

DEAR SIR,

Nov. 13, 1769.

THERE are, as you apprehend, some circumstances of a very extraordinary nature in the funeral ceremony of the Russians; and I think the best method of telling you what they are, is to describe the funeral of the Princess Kurakin, of which I was this day a witness.

The procession set out at ten in the morning from the little Millione, for the burial-place in the Monastery of St. Alexander Newsky, about two miles from St. Petersburg. All the streets and the road by which it was to pass, were strewed with green twigs, chiefly of yew. It was preceded by a band of singing boys, who sung hymns, and chanted portions of the funeral service; and who were followed

followed by about twenty inferior priests, attendants on the dignified clergy. The Bishop of St. Petersburg, accompanied with Archimandrites, and other Priests of higher orders, walked immediately before the hearse. They had mitres on their heads, were arrayed in costly dresses, and carried tapers in their hands. The hearse, which was not covered, as in Britain, was drawn by six horses. The coffin was covered with pink-coloured velvet, and adorned with silver ornaments; but had no pall laid over it. The chief mourners walked behind, and other friends and relations followed in mourning coaches. Before they reached the Monastery, the Bishop left the procession, which came on slowly, and got before them into the church. There he put on such pieces of raiment as were customary on such occasions; and performed such parts of the service as were usually performed previous to the arrival of the procession.

When the funeral reached the gate of the Monastery, the Bishop, attended with the Monks and Priests, went out to meet and conduct it to the place of interment. A platform, two steps in height, about six feet in

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length,

length, and four in breadth, covered with crimson-velvet fringed with gold, was raised in the outward division of the church. Upon this the coffin was placed; and on bringing it into the church, all the servants and female attendants of the deceased raised a most dolorous lamentation, wringing their hands, beating their breasts, tearing their hair, and crying so as effectually to drown the voices of the choiristers. Meantime those who had tapers in their hands, lighted them: and six large wax-candles, which stood in candlesticks around the dead body, were also lighted. The monks were arranged on one side of the place before the altar, and the choiristers on the other. The Bishop sat in a chair covered with velvet, in the middle of the church, surrounded by deacons and attendants. Others lifted the lid from the coffin, covering the corpse with a pall of cloth of gold, on which was embroidered a silver cross; and folding it back, displayed the dead body lying on a bed of white sattin. The head, with the face uncovered, and dressed in a close coeffure, very richly adorned with lace, lay on a white sattin pillow. The features were elegant, but the colour was gone; the eyes and lips closed;
the

the smiles and graces were flown for ever. The body was dressed in white fatten, and the hands, covered with white gloves, were laid across the breast.

The Bishop now performed mass, with all the usual ceremonies of singing, praying, scattering incense, carrying about the bread and wine, the gospels, and the crucifix. This lasted a considerable time; and the Bishop's seat being then removed to the head of the coffin, he took his station there, while twelve persons, in black sacerdotal habits, with lighted tapers in their hands, arranged themselves around the dead body. After the burial service, which was indeed very solemn, the Bishop standing up, pronounced a few sentences in a kind of deep-toned grave recitative. He was answered in the same manner by a Priest on his right, and he by another on the left; and so on, by all those that stood around the coffin. This part of the ceremony was very striking; and, indeed, very noble. When this was ended, a Priest (the Princess's confessor, as I was told) delivered a scroll of paper to the Bishop, who read it aloud, and returned it to the confessor, who, with silent

and reverential demeanour, put it into the right hand of the deceased. The priests and monks returned to their former position; and then all the friends and relations, both male and female, but chiefly the last, with loud howling, weeping, and lamentation, gathered around the dead body, kissed the hands and forehead, and with a sorrow expressed with too much violence to produce sympathy, took leave of their departed friend. This part of the ceremony, including the preceding hymn, chanted by the Priests, is termed the *Aspasmus*, or Last Embrace.

When this was over, which was not suddenly, the coffin was lifted up, the platform removed from beneath, and a vault discovered under it, into which the body was let down. The Bishop then advanced, pronounced a short prayer, and threw some earth into the vault. It was then closed: the mourners withdrew, and thus the ceremony was concluded.—I need not add, that the parade was excessive; and the lamentation so loud, as totally to destroy the pleasing melancholy, and the disposition to solemn thought, which such ceremonies ought to produce. I

was,

was, however, so much pleased with the hymn pronounced at the last embrace, that I shall endeavour to have it translated, and if so, I shall transmit you a copy. I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XXI.

The Hymn chanted at the Aspasms, or Last Embrace.

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLY to my promise I send you a translation of the Hymn recited by the Priests or Monks, for I don't just recollect which they were, who, according to the custom of the Greek church in the burial of the dead, stand around the coffin previous to the Last Embrace. I have been informed that it was written originally in Greek, by the famous Joannes Damascenus; and was translated from him, for the use of the Russian church, into the Sclavonian, the dialect used in this country in acts of religious worship. It is divided into stanzas suited to the method of recitation.

I.

Come hither, brethren, let us worship God, and pay our last duty to the deceased.

No longer mindful of vanity, or the cares of the flesh, he hath forsaken his kindred, and approacheth the grave. Where are kindred and friends! We are now separated from one another—May the Lord grant him repose!

II.

O brethren! what painful separation, what lamentation and wailing accompany this mournful hour! Approach.—Embrace him who was lately one of ourselves. Delivered up to the grave; covered with a stone, he must dwell in darkness, and be buried among the dead. Now, friends and kindred! we are separated from him! May the Lord grant him repose!

III.

Every wicked connection with life and vanity is dissolved. The spirit hath forsaken her cottage. The clay is disfigured: the vessel broke. We carry a motionless, insensible corps to the grave, intreating the Lord to grant him eternal rest.

IV.

Oh what is life! a blossom! a vapour!
or dew of the morning! Approach there-
fore,

fore, and with attention contemplate the grave. Where now is the graceful form ! Where is youth ! Where are the organs of sight ! And where the beauty of complexion ! They are withered like stubble. Approach, and weeping worship God.

V.

What lamentation and wailing, and mourning, and struggling, when the soul is separated from the body ! Hades and perdition are then disclosed. Human life seems altogether vanity ; a transient shadow ; the sleep of error ; the unavailing labour of imagined existence. Let us therefore fly from every corruption of the world, that we may inherit the kingdom of heaven.

VI.

Looking upon the deceased, let us meditate on our latter end. Like a thin vapour rising from the earth, he vanished : like a flower, he decayed : like grass he was cut down ; arrayed in perishing apparel, he is laid in the dust. Intreat Christ to grant repose unto him whom ye are now leaving, and shall no longer behold.

VII. Come

VII.

Come hither, O descendants of Adam !
and see humbled in the ground a man resembling
ourselves ; divested of all comeliness,
soon to be consumed in the grave ; to perish in
darkness, and crumble into dust. Intreat
Christ to grant repose unto him whom ye are
now leaving, and shall no longer behold.

VIII.

When the spirit is ravished from the body
by awful angels, kindred and acquaintance are
all forgot ; the future judgment engageth our
attention ; for the vain pursuits and fruitless
labour of the flesh are then at an end. Sup-
plicating the Judge, let us beseech him to for-
give the sins of the deceased.

IX.

Come hither, brethren, let us view the
dust and ashes of which ye are moulded.
Whither are we going ; and what shall we
become ? Who is poor ; or who is rich ? Who
is the master ; or who is free ? Are not all
ashes ?

ashes ? The beauty of the countenance hath faded, for death blasts the blossom of youth.

X.

All the pleasures and dignities of life are vain and perishing : We are all decaying, and shall die. Kings and princes, judges and potentates, the rich and the poor, all are mortal. Those formerly numbered among the living, lie lifeless in their graves. To whom may Jesus accord repose !

XI.

All the members of the body are now rendered motionless : very lately they were active and full of vigour : now they are rendered weak. The eyes are closed ; the feet are bound ; the hands at rest ; the sense of hearing extinct ; and the tongue locked up in silence. All are delivered up to the grave ; All human things are vain.

XII.

Thou Mother of the Sun that never sets,
Parent of God, we beseech thee intercede with
thy divine offspring, that he who hath departed
ed

ed hence, may enjoy repose with the souls of the just. Unblemished Virgin, may he enjoy the eternal inheritance of heaven in the abodes of the righteous.—Doxology.

Words supposed to express the sentiments of the deceased, spoken by the Chief Priest:

“Brethren, friends, kinsmen, and acquaintance! View me now, and lament. It was but yesterday that we conversed together; for the fearful hour of death hath surprised me. Come here all who tenderly loved or esteemed me, and with a last embrace pronounce the last farewell. No longer shall I sojourn among you: No longer bear a part in your discourse: I go to the Judge who hath no respect of persons. The master and the servant, the sovereign and the subject, the rich and the poor, are here upon a level: for according to their deeds shall they be glorified or put to shame. Therefore let me entreat and beseech you all, intercede with Jesus who is God, that I may not receive the punishment due to my guilt, but that he may establish me in the light of life.”

The

The following additional Stanzas are used at the burial of a Priest; they appear to me more striking and more pathetic than the former.

I.

Be still! be still! let the departed rest in peace. Meditate this awful mystery. 'Tis an hour of terror! be still! Let the spirit depart in peace. It begins the tremendous trial, and with much trembling deprecates the Almighty.

II.

Whether have the spirits of the deceased departed? Or what is their lot? How I long to learn their condition. But 'tis a mystery which none can reveal. Like mortals do they remember their friends? Are they for ever unmindful of the mourners? of those who bewail their departure, and celebrate their obsequies with sorrow?

III.

The slaves of ungoverned passions enjoy no repose in the grave: formidable accusers
are

are there, and there the books are opened. Where wilt thou look for succour, O man, or who will maintain thy cause; unless thy conduct in life was upright, unless thy bounty relieved the poor.

IV.

Haft thou pitied the afflicted, O man? in death thou shalt be pitied. Haft thou consoled the orphan? the orphan will deliver thee. Haft thou clothed the naked? The naked will procure thee protection.

I could send you translations of some other parts of the funeral ceremony. But you will probably be satisfied with what you have.

I mentioned that the funeral ceremony of the Princess Kurakin was performed in the Monastery of St. Alexander Newsky. This Saint was formerly a Sovereign of the Russias, and was canonized, not so much for his Christian virtues, as for his military achievements. His exploits, indeed, were in defence of his country against the Swedes or Finns, and are engraved on a magnificent silver shrine within the monastery. In the neighbourhood

of

of St. Petersburg, at least, he is so highly revered, as to have become a formidable rival to St. Nicholas. Perhaps, it is because his greatest actions were performed upon the banks of the Neva; and that the church and monastery, consecrated to him, are very magnificent, and happen to be placed in a conspicuous situation. The adjoining walks, woods, and garden, are extremely pleasant, and even romantic.

P. S. I mentioned to you, that, after reciting the Hymn previous to the Last Embrace, a Priest put a scroll of paper into the right hand of the deceased. This has sometimes been ludicrously represented as a passport to be delivered to St. Peter. The following, however, has been given me * as an exact translation of the scroll above mentioned, and shews the injustice of that account.

*The Prayer, Hope, and Declaration of a
Christian Soul in the Faith.*

“ Every God-glorifying, orthodox christian, having lived and honoured this hope, declares the following: and when he is dead,

* By the Reverend Dr. King, author of a learned account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church.

whoever

whoever is willing, may piously put this declaration into the hand of the deceased when in the coffin.

All-creative, Omnipotent God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, in Three Persons, but one Godhead, substance, and essence: incessantly praised by all creatures, who, by thy holy will, foreknowledge, immeasurable goodness, and inexpressible wisdom, didst create all things visible in the world; thou didst create also me thy servant, to glorify thee, O Lord my God! to sing thy holy name; gratefully to thank thee for all thy mercy, and to endeavour, by all virtues, to attain thy everlasting kingdom. But, O, Divine Trinity! I have sinned against thee; have offended thy holiness; have broken thy commandments; and have not preserved, as I ought, thy image and likeness existing within me. I have defiled my soul and body by all manner of sins; and by wicked actions have moved thee to wrath. But though I have been dazzled with the vanities of the world, yet, O Lord! I have not cast myself wholly from thee, my Creator, my life, my joy, my salvation, and hope. And now, my life li-

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mited

mitted by thy power, I willingly resign. My soul separates itself from my corruptible body; goes into immortality; and if it seem good unto thee, shall with this body arise again; which I hope for from thy goodness and mercy, according to the faith of our holy religion, and because thou didst suffer for our salvation. Yet I am terrified with fear, lest the torments of the wicked be inflicted upon me, for the sins which I have committed against thee. Wherefore, O Immortal King, and my God! with this my last breath I pray unto thee, that thou wouldst forgive all the sins I have committed from my youth up to this time; for thou art my God and my Creator; I believe in thee; I hope in thee; by thy righteous judgment save me, O Lord! and vouchsafe unto me thy kingdom. Thou who for us men became Jesus Christ, to deliver us from sin; by thy power I was born, and brought up in the wisdom of the only holy Eastern Church. And I pray thee, O Lord! consider not my sins; but grant me absolution in presence of the immaculate Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. Free from doubt, I come unto thee, O God! and at the
sepa-

separation of my soul into all space from the body, receive, O Lord! my spirit into thy hands, and according to thy mercy, revive me in the evangelic beatitude, for ever and ever. Amen!

LETTER XXII. (EXTRACT.)

The Library belonging to the Academy.—Reliques of Peter the Great.

***** **T**HE Library belonging to the Academy is a large building, containing several rooms and galleries. It is furnished with about thirty thousand volumes. The books are in bad order; nor are they very valuable. The collection, however, of Russ translations of French, English, and German authors is considerable.—Among some books in the English language I found several political tracts, maintaining the absolute and indefeasible right of Kings.—They had been brought to Russia by Dr. Areskine.

In one gallery is deposited a numerous collection of Chinese dresses, coins, and utensils; together with a number of Chinese and Tatarian

tarian manuscripts. I was also shewn a number of Kamshatkadale curiosities ; and, among others, two waxen figures, as large as the life, representing two Kamshatkadale forcerers. They were accoutred as in the exercise of their profession ; and had hanging around them a number of iron rings. They had in their hands a sort of musical instrument resembling a drum.

In another gallery are a number of reliques of Peter the Great ; his walking-stick, models of ships executed with his own hands ; and indeed such a variety of different things, as lessen their value as reliques. What pleased me most was a waxen figure of that great man, as large as the life, and made to resemble him as much as possible. He is represented sitting, dressed in regimentals, and having on his head an old hat without lace. In one of the cocks of his hat is a large hole, said to have been made by a bullet at the battle of Pultowa. His countenance is strangely expressive of thoughtful, but fierce, dignity.

The remains of Peter lie in a church within the castle. They are contained in a marble chest,

chest, inscribed with his name, and covered with green velvet embroidered with gold. Near them are the remains of some other sovereigns; and near them also are some of the horsetails and standards taken from the Turks in the last campaign. The castle is situated in a small island, opposite to the winter palace, and surrounded by the greatest branch of the Neva; * * *

LETTER XXIII.

Translation of a German Poem.

DEAR SIR,

I Mentioned to you, I believe, in a former letter, that German literature was fashionable in Russia. Indeed the Germans have of late bestowed considerable attention on those kinds of composition which are intended to amuse: and the success of their poets, in particular, has, in many instances, been very conspicuous. An elegiac poem, by a young Lusatian, was lately put into my hands: and pleased me so much, that I have endeavoured to preserve its beauties in an English translation. Judge of it: yet I am sensible of my doing a bold thing in offering it to *your* perusal. I have also prefixed the author's prefatory note, because it throws some light both on the design of the poem and the mind of the poet. It seems to me as if the first part of the performance were dictated by feeling; and the second by a sense of duty. But concern-

ing a work with which I have taken so much pains, I am as little entitled, or even qualified, to speak, as the author himself. The measure in the translation is the same as in the original. * * * * *

A B I R A N;

OR, THE

VICTIM OF FANCIED WOE.

(*N. B.* That “man is born to sorrow, as the sparks fly upward,” is proved by daily observation, and too often by daily experience. The *real* miseries of human life are numerous: but as if these were not enough, men *create* miseries to themselves. They suffer their fancies to afflict them, when fortune and outward circumstances, according to the usual estimate of human enjoyments, are not unfavourable. It is strange they should not oppose a propensity so adverse to their happiness, and apparently so unreasonable; yet such is too often the condition of many an amiable and excellent character. It may indeed happen, that persons incapable of enormous vice, and having never suffered very heavy calamity, may, however, have met with *some* affliction, and
may

may *not* have endured it with suitable firmness. But this is not sufficient to account for the appearance. Together with, or independent of such situation, their feelings are occasioned chiefly by their having tastes too refined for the objects in which they are conversant; and in their having desires for a certain elevated species of happiness, which, though it may seem paradoxical to say so, they do not fully conceive. They are even sensible of the agreeable circumstances in which they may happen to be placed; yet wishing for something still finer and more perfect, their enjoyments are incomplete. Nay, they lose all relish for the good things in their power. They must therefore complain: What else can they do? or cherish their griefs in secret. They can do more. They can have recourse to religion: in compliance with its dictates, they may do all the good they can in the meanwhile: they may thus look forward to a future period, when pleasures, more exquisite than they now feel or imagine, shall be annexed to every virtuous exertion; and may thus assure themselves of that happiness, which, by a wonderful anticipation, in their present state not knowing, they

they yet desire. Though this should be termed delusion, very barbarous is he who would deprive the poor sufferer of its soft consolation.

The following verses are intended as a representation of such imaginary, though the author confesses himself loth to call it unreal, suffering: the cause may be *imaginary*; but the suffering is *real*: and as the great object of poetical imitation is human nature, perhaps there may be some readers to whom this particular aspect of the human mind may not be uninteresting. This however depends on the execution of the thing designed, no less than on the design itself; and concerning neither of these has the author any right or any power to determine.)

“WHENCE this oppressive load of woe?

“Th’ involuntary sigh?

“And th’ oozing tear about to flow

“From my dejected eye?

“O, Melancholy! how thy power

“Against my peace conspires!

“Still will thy leaden aspect lour,

“And quench my genial fires.

“O why

" O why is my desponding mind

" Become thy very slave ?

" And may I not—alas ! not find

" A refuge in the grave ?

" The grave will give secure repose

" From persecuting grief ;

" For there alone, from heavy woes,

" The weary have relief.

" Alas ! in early life to leave

" This world so good and fair !

" Not so to me, who pine and grieve,

" The victim of despair.

" And yet how bright those shining skies !

" How lovely Nature's face !

" The groves and hills around me rise,

" Robed with celestial grace.

" I know them beautiful ! I see

" How beautiful they are ;

" I feel their beauty ! yet, ah me !

" My bosom pines with care.

" In vain to me the vernal gale

" Dispenses soft perfume,

" While thro' the windings of the vale

" He flies from bloom to bloom.

" Can

" Can wit or gaiety impart
" Enjoyment to my breast?
" I smile, even laugh; but, in my heart,
" My griefs are ill suppress'd.

" And what can tuneful numbers do?
" Or the melodious string?——
" They can improve the sense of woe,
" And sharpen Sorrow's sting.

" Even when I would be gay, a sigh
" Betrays my secret care——
" Be happy, ye who can, for I
" Must struggle with despair.

" Nor can I Nature blame; she made
" Me capable of joy:
" She gave me powers: and Fortune said,
" Go, and thy powers employ.

" And I have known Delight; e'erwhile
" Have seen her beauty shine:
" And blest'd with her endearing smile,
" Have call'd the blessing mine.

" Bear witness, every soft recess
" That heard my vocal lay;
" And scenes of social happiness,
" That I was very gay.

" And

- “ And bring the bliss of former days,
“ O, Memory !---she brings
“ The sportive images : obeys,
“ But in obeying flings.
- “ The green-hill and th’ enamel’d plain,
“ Where blyth I us’d to range,
“ How soft and lovely they remain !
“ But I have suff’red change.
- “ Of early friends untimely reft,
“ They are the mould’ring clay !
“ They sleep ; and I, alas ! am left
“ More desolate than they.
- “ I envy you, ye silent dead,
“ And your eternal sleep :
“ Ye are from care and sorrow fled ;
“ And I am left to weep.
- “ My joys are deaden’d ; clouds invest,
“ And glooms involve my skies ;
“ And more t’ afflict my widow’d breast,
“ Soft images arise.
- “ I see a lovely scene with flowers,
“ With groves and verdure gay :
“ I hasten to the blissful bowers,
“ Lur’d by the festive lay.
- “ Soft

“ Soft melodies around, above,
“ Breathe thro’ the vocal air ;
“ And the long, liquid notes of love
“ Soothe and subdue despair.

“ And now I quaff the cup of joy !
“ The phantoms fly away !
“ Stay, ye transporting pleasures !---why
“ Will not the vision stay ?

“ Wild wastes appear, and gloomy skies,
“ And pealing thunders roll !
“ And tempests---O what tempests rise
“ In my distracted soul !

“ But let me search my secret heart ;
“ Perhaps some latent crime
“ Hath planted there a deadly dart,
“ And blasts me in my prime.

“ I am not guilty---gracious God !
“ I say not I am pure :
“ And I would kiss thy chast’ning rod,
“ And thy rebuke endure :

“ But that to guiltier men—O heaven !
“ Forgive my froward will—
“ To guiltier men than I is given
“ Security from ill.——

“ Poor

" Poor toiling spirit ! wilt thou yet

" Thus with thy griefs debate ?

" Be still ! be senseless ! and submit

" To thy determin'd fate.

" O then, why am I what I am ?

" Why am I made to glow

" With ardour of extatic flame,

" Yet be condemn'd to woe ?

" Rage on, ye storms ! descend, and down

" The sky with fury roll !

" And let the fiends of horror frown

" On my devoted soul."——

Thus flow'd Abiran's secret woe,

As thro' a pathless glade,

Unseen, with fullen pace and flow

His wayward footstep stray'd :

And deep into the devious wood

He urg'd his desperate way,

Where savage rocks and groves exclude

The sun's enliv'ning ray :

And fierce in his distemper'd breast

The dire suggestion rose :

" The grave," he cried, " to the distress'd,

" The grave will give repose."

He

He paus'd ; his cheek grew wan ; his eye
 With wild distraction glar'd :
 He rais'd the gleaming poniard high ;
 The frantic bosom bar'd.——

Instant, athwart th' incumbent gloom
 A flood of light appear'd :
 The grove was fill'd with soft perfume :
 A sudden voice was heard !

A gentle voice ! gentler than gales
 That wave their musky wings
 In Aden's aromatic vales,
 Or by Daphnezian springs.

“ Attend, thou plaintive son of earth !

“ Yield to the will of heaven :—

“ To me, appointed at thy birth,

“ The pious charge was given,

“ To guard thee from th' insidious wile

“ And craft of vitious care ;

“ The Syren song that would beguile,

“ The smile that would ensnare :

“ Nor less to guide thy reckless way

“ From those sequester'd bowers,

“ Where melancholy would betray,

“ And blast thy growing powers.

- “ Spirits of finest texture, oft
“ Are by her sighs deceiv’d;
“ And by her air and accent soft,
“ Of inward peace bereav’d.
- “ Fly then from her recesses, fly!
“ The gales that gently blow,
“ In fancied sympathy reply
“ Harmonious to thy woe.
- “ The turtle cooing in the dale,
“ Will with thy grief accord:
“ And the deep umbrage of the vale
“ Congenial glooms afford.
- “ Nor seek, with fruitless toil, to learn,
“ Why virtue suffers pain.—
“ Canst thou the lightning’s path discern?
“ The lightning’s fury rein?
- “ In earthly frame pent and confin’d,
“ How can thy soul pretend,
“ The conduct of th’ Almighty mind
“ T’ arraign or comprehend?
- “ If in the Lybian desert wide,
“ To slake the Lion’s thirst,
“ Even from the rock’s reluctant side
“ He bids the fountain burst:

L

“ And

- “ And bids, for wild-birds, lofty trees
“ Their ruddy harvest bear,
“ The Father of mankind ! he sees,
“ Nor disregards thy care.
- “ Nor fruitless are the storms of woe
“ To the progressive mind :
“ For they give vigour, and to glow
“ With energy refin’d.
- “ Observe how winds, and beating rains,
“ Drench and deform the dale ;
“ And how the husbandman complains,
“ And how the shepherds wail.
- “ But when the rains are blown away,
“ Behold ! a thousand dyes,
“ And flowers and fruit, and verdure gay,
“ In every field arise.
- “ You know not, if with meek regard
“ You wait the will of heaven ;
“ You know not what sublime reward
“ May to your grief be given.”

LETTER XXIV.

*Journal of the Weather for Fifty-five Days,
during the Winter 1769-70.*

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, Jan. 24. 1770.

OUR weather is indeed very severe. You may judge of its severity by our precautions. We have recourse to them, not only in our dress, but in our houses.

Our dress, within doors, is the same as during the winter in England. But when we encounter the external cold, our defensive raiment is indeed very grotesque. The head is defended by a large fur cap, and the body, by a garment resembling a night-gown, extending from the neck to the heel, made of whatever stuff you please, but lined throughout with the thickest fur. Fur-shoes, or conguees, as they are termed, having the hair on the outside, are tied over the shoes we com-

L 2

monly

monly wear. Our arms are secured by the long sleeves of the upper garment, or pelisse, as it is called ; and our hands by large muffs, which are also used to defend the face. On entering any house, some of the servants immediately untie your fur shoes, and divest you of your pelisse : nor is it unamusing to see fine gentlemen, adorned with gold and silver, and purple, and precious stones, starting forth from their rough external guise, like so many gaudy butterflies bursting suddenly from their winter incrustation.

In houses of any distinction here, every room is provided with a large stove, reaching from the floor to the cieling. It is usually made of brick ; and is often so adorned with various colours, and with ornaments of brass, as to exhibit a very good appearance. From this stove, flues and passages, for conveying the heat around the room, are sometimes constructed within the walls. After the wood is completely burnt down, so that not the smallest particle of flame or of smoke remain, the little iron door by which the fuel was put into its place, but which stood open while the wood was burning, is fastened very close :
and,

and, by another aperture in the side of the stove, or *petchka*, as it is called, half way between the floor and the ceiling, the passage by which the smoke enters the chimney is also covered. Thus the heat, confined entirely within the room, becomes sometimes excessive, and almost insufferable; nor have I ever felt so much warmth in any house in London, as in the houses of St. Petersburg. For in order still farther to guard against the visitations of Siberian blasts, and the cold companions they bring along with them, the windows are so formed as to admit of double casements. Of these the inner casement may be removed at pleasure. It is usually fixed in its place in October, and remains till the beginning of May. The space between the two may be about six or seven inches.

In the intermediate space between two of these casements, in an antichamber in my apartment, I have suspended one of Reaumur's thermometers; and, in order to give you a more precise idea of our climate, I shall subjoin a journal of the weather for fifty-five days, beginning with the 1st of December last, and continued till the date of my letter.

The exposure is to the south; but the observations were usually made at an early hour. Observe, therefore, that by the mark 8 m. in the journal, is meant eight o'clock in the morning. I need not tell you, that by b. fr. is meant below the freezing point.

- Dec. 1. 8 m. 9 deg. b. fr. The sky clear. A little wind N. W. The ground covered with snow. At noon the spirit of wine fell 7 deg. The sky cloudy. A fall of snow.
- Dec. 2. 8 m. $8\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Cloudy, with some mist.
- Dec. 3. 8 m. $7\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Snow. A sharp wind N. E.
- Dec. 4. 8 m. $10\frac{3}{4}$ deg. b. fr. Clear.
- Dec. 5. 8 m. $1\frac{3}{4}$ deg. above fr. Cloudy.
- Dec. 6. 8 m. 2 deg. b. fr. Clear.
- Dec. 7. 8 m. 2 deg. above fr. Clear. Wind S. W.
- Dec. 8. 8 m. $\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Cloudy.
- Dec. 9. 8 m. $3\frac{1}{2}$ deg. above fr. Wind S. W.
- Dec. 10. 8 m. 3 deg. above fr. At half an hour after eight the spirit of wine fell to three degrees b. fr.
- Dec. 11. 8 m. 8 deg. b. fr.
- Dec. 12. 8 m. $2\frac{1}{4}$ deg. b. fr. Wind W. Some snow.

Dec. 13.

Dec. 13. 8 m. $2\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Cloudy.

Dec. 14. 8 m. 3 deg. b. fr. Very cloudy.

A sharp wind E.

Dec. 15. 8 m. 3 deg. b. fr. Very cloudy.

Dec. 16. 8 m. 3 deg. b. fr. Snow.

Dec. 17. 8 m. 4 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
N. E.

Dec. 18. 8 m. 7 deg. b. fr. Cloudy. At
nine at night the spirit of wine stood at 15
deg. b. fr. Wind N. E.

Dec. 19. 8 m. 22 deg. b. fr. Clear. Wind
N. E.

Dec. 20. 8 m. $23\frac{3}{4}$ deg. b. fr. Clear. Wind
N. E.

Dec. 21. 8 m. 12 deg. b. fr. Snow.

Dec. 22. 8 m. 17 deg. b. fr. Clear.

Dec. 23. 8 m. 15. deg. b. fr. Cloudy. Snow
had fallen in the night.

Dec. 24. 8 m. 14 deg. b. fr. Cloudy. Snow
had fallen in the night. Wind N. E.

Dec. 25. 8 m. 11 deg. b. fr. Snow had fal-
len in the night. Wind N. E.

Dec. 26. 8 m. 9 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
N. E.

Dec. 27. 8 m. 11 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
N. E.

- Dec. 28. 8 m. 15 deg. b. fr. Clear. Wind
N. E.
- Dec. 29. 8 m. 17 deg. b. fr. Cloudy. Wind
N. E.
- Dec. 30. 8 m. 9 deg. b. fr. Cloudy. Wind
N. E.
- Dec. 31. 8 m. 9. deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 1. 1770. 8 m. $10\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 2. 8 m. $8\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Cloudy.
- Jan. 3. 8 m. 15 deg. b. fr. Cloudy.
- Jan. 4. 8 m. $12\frac{1}{4}$ deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
S. W.
- Jan. 5. 8 m. 6 deg. b. fr. Cloudy.
- Jan. 6. 8 m. $5\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 7. 8 m. 6. deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 8. 8 m. $6\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 9. 8 m. $8\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 10. 8 m. 6 deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 11. 8 m. $5\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Snow.
- Jan. 12. 8 m. 5 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
N. E.
- Jan. 13. 8 m. 5 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
N. E.
- Jan. 14. 8 m. 1 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
S. W.
- Jan. 15. 8 m. 3 deg. above fr. Snow.
- Jan. 16. 8 m. 1 deg. above fr. Snow.
- Jan. 17.

- Jan. 17. 8 m. $1\frac{1}{2}$ deg. above fr. Snow.
Jan. 18. 8 m. 4 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
N. E.
Jan. 19. 8 m. 5 deg. b. fr. Snow. Wind
N. E.
Jan. 20. 8 m. 17 deg. b. fr. Mifty.
Jan. 21. 8 m. 15 deg. b. fr. Snow.
Jan. 22. 8 m. $8\frac{1}{2}$ deg. b. fr. Cloudy.
Jan. 23. 8 m. 9 deg. b. fr. Cloudy.
Jan. 24. 8 m. 10 deg. b. fr. Cloudy *.

You will, no doubt, have remarked, in this journal, that our weather is often very dim and cloudy. This, however, is more the case in the beginning of winter, before all the snows have fallen, than afterwards. In the months of February and March, the sky is

* The coldest weather, during my stay in Russia, was usually after the snow fell, in the months of February and March. The spirit of wine was generally, in those months, between ten and fifteen degrees below the freezing point. The coldest weather known, while I lived in St. Petersburg, was in the month of March 1771. On the first, second, and third days of that month, the spirit of wine was at 20 deg. b. fr.; but, on the fourth, a little before seven in the morning, it fell to 32 deg. b. fr. According to some other observations, it stood at 34 deg. b. fr. It did not remain long at 32 deg.; but rose successively to 10, 8, and 5 deg. b. fr. On the 18th of March it stood at 2 deg. above freezing.

remarkably

remarkably clear; and the moon-light, in particular, when the firmament is quite serene, and the ground covered with snow, appears much brighter than I have observed it in Britain. Nor in those months, though the colds are more intense than at any other period, have we so much wind as at present. The "*Spirantes frigora cauri*" seem to be the harbingers of the severe cold; the dreary attendants of November, December, and January.

Perhaps our hazy and cloudy weather, in the end of autumn, and beginning of winter, is the reason that I have never yet seen the Russian sky adorned and enlivened in an evening with an Aurora Borealis. I say enlivened, for though once or twice I have seen a dull fullen redness in the air, which I was told was an Aurora Borealis; I have never yet seen it with such bright colours, rapid motions, and fantastic gestures, as embellish the British autumnal sky. I have never seen any thing like the beautiful and just description given us of this object by the bard of external nature :

Of

Oft in this season, silent from the north,
A blaze of meteors shoots: ensweeping first
The lower skies, they all at once converge
High to the crown of heaven; and all at once
Relapsing quick, as quickly reascend;
And mix, and thwart, extinguish, and renew;
All æther coursing in a maze of light.

Though in the line, “and mix and thwart, &c.” the Poet employs his verbs in an unusual manner, the description is just and striking. It is more than picturesque; it is poetic: and by exhibiting a swift succession of diversified motions, affords us a fine example of that sort of representation which scorns the powers, great though they are, of painting. On such signal occasions, language is an engine to be used as the poet pleases. The description is admirably heightened, by his suggesting the effects of such appearances on the superstitious minds of the vulgar: and by his representing the object as receiving a shape and features suited to their consternation.

From look to look, contagious thro’ the crowd
The panic runs, and into wond’rous shapes
Th’ appearance throws: armies in meet array,
Throng’d with aerial spears, and steeds of fire,

Till

Till the long lines of full-extended war
In bleeding fight commix, the sanguine flood
Rolls a broad slaughter o'er the plains of heaven,
As thus they scan the visionary scene.
On all sides swells the superstitious din
Incontinent; and busy frenzy talks
Of blood and battle; cities overturn'd, &c.

The description is carried on, and rises by
a fine amplification; till

Nature's self

Is deem'd to totter on the brink of time!

and is then concluded, and finely contrasted,
by the following serene reflection:

Not so the man of philosophic eye
And inspect sage; the waving brightness he
Curious surveys; inquisitive to know
The causes and materials yet unfix'd
Of this appearance.

Adieu.

LETTER XXV.

*Account of a Comet which was seen in Russia
in the Year 1769.—Account of some other
Comets.*

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, Jan. 1770.

YOUR letter, informing me that you were engaged in the study of astronomy, gave me indeed the sincerest pleasure. I congratulate you on the delightful improvement it will afford you. In so far as a mere lover of that science may speak concerning it, I will venture to affirm, that no literary pursuit whatever enlarges the mind so much, or yields such sublime enjoyment. I am convinced too, that it influences the heart and manners. At least all those astronomers whom I have ever had the happiness of knowing, have been distinguished for their modesty, condescension, and candour. Fond as you are of this exalting science, I flatter myself, that the following account of the

comet that appeared here in the months of August and September last will afford you some amusement.

This brilliant stranger, in its progress through the planetary regions, made its appearance here on the 28th of August. I had the pleasure of seeing it early in the morning on the 1st of September. Its head was then situated almost due east, thirteen degrees above the horizon; and made a right-angled triangle, whose hypoteneus was sixteen degrees, with the bright star Aldebaran, and the most northern of the Pleiades. September the 1st, 2d, and 3d, it advanced with an oblique southerly course, straight upon the star Bellatrix in the shoulder of Orion. It passed that star within less than half a degree, on the morning of the 4th. By proceeding in such a tract, and with such accelerated rapidity, towards the Perihelion, it seems to have descended upon us, through the breast of Aries, about the beginning of August; and to have crossed the Ecliptic, when near thirty degrees distant from the point of the vernal Equinox. At that time it was probably too remote to be discerned. From Bellatrix it
moved

moved onward to the Solstitial colure ; passing that circle with two or three degrees of N. declination ; and, before the 10th of September, arrived at the Celestial Equator, having a right ascension of an hundred and three degrees. On the 13th, it arose along with Sirius at three in the morning, and was then seen, for the last time, near the tail of Monoceros, distant from the Dog-star, as I was informed, twenty-six degrees ; and from Procyon, or the Star of the Little Dog, fifteen degrees.—In the evenings, about six weeks after, it was looked for in its return in the constellation Ophiuchus ; but I have not heard that it was discovered.

During all the nights I had an opportunity of attending to the progress of this illustrious visitant, as the atmosphere was very serene, I was much gratified with the fine appearance exhibited by the long train of diverging light which formed the tail. On the morning of the 2d of September, it had increased from twelve degrees of length to near thirty, stretching from the western arm of Orion, where the head then was, full four degrees beyond the two kappas of the Whale. On

3

the

the 8th, the display of its radiance was still more majestic; for it now occupied a space in the heavens of no less than forty-four degrees, reaching across Orion, even beyond the stars in Eridanus. All this time it was hastening towards the Sun's place in the Ecliptic; and by such rapid marches, that it was soon afterwards absorbed from our view by the effulgence of the morning rays.

I need scarce observe, that all the above motions and distances ascribed to this beautiful and eccentric wanderer, are only apparent. The real track of a body so considerable, through the orbits of the planets, is another consideration; and leads to reflections of a very interesting nature. On this subject I have received the following information from an ingenious friend conversant in astronomy, who was much occupied in observing the places of the comet, and has since spent some time in computing from the data thus obtained. According to him, its nearest approach to the earth was on the 9th of September, when it passed us at about a third part of our mean distance from the Sun. Had it arrived at the same point of its trajectory twenty one
days

days later, we should have been still three times nearer: though even at this nearest possible approach, as the bulk of the comet was relatively very small, the mutual gravitation would have occasioned no tendency to disorder in the motions of our planet. It farther appears, that it passed the plane of the orbit of Venus from the north to the south, in the month of August, and repassed it again in October; both times at such a distance from that planet, as to produce no sensible effects. On the 7th of October it had reached its perihelion, and was ten times nearer the Sun than we are. Mercury was also then so much out of the way as to escape disturbance.

This comet is thought to be a new one; by which is meant, that it is different from any one marked in the catalogue given us by Dr. Halley, or any additions that since his time have been made to it. According to the same computations of its real situation and distance, it follows, that the lucid emanation which formed the tail was elongated from the nucleus, to the amazing extent of thirty-six millions of miles. No wonder, therefore,

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that

that such unusual radiance, when contrasted with a dark and serene air, should have imparted an awful magnificence to the heavens. Nor could I behold it, for the first time, without feeling my soul shaken with solemn terror and veneration. It seemed like the banner of Omnipotence, displayed by some mighty angel, and announcing, not only to the nations upon earth, but to the whole planetary region, from utmost Saturn to the Sun himself, the power of their great Creator. A voice pealing through the vast void of the starry heavens, and proclaiming some awful behest, or tremendous summons, though it might have appalled, would not then have surprised me.—Reflection, I allow, and sound philosophy, excite other emotions. They inspire confidence in the goodness of that Being, whose power and wisdom are manifested in the order and harmony so conspicuous in the frame of nature.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good!

You will, no doubt, have already discovered, in the course of your enquiries and observations, that the astronomy of comets is to be considered, even in this age of science, as in
its

its infancy. Of the number belonging to the system, there is no room even for forming a conjecture: and in regard to their periods, philosophers are only beginning to know something. The great disadvantage under which they labour, is the want of ancient observations. It was unfortunately the prevailing doctrine of the Aristotelians, that comets were but transient meteors, composed of combustible matter, which floated casually in the atmosphere; and, on this account, they regarded them with very little attention. It is certain, however, that some of the ancients entertained juster conceptions. Seneca, in particular, reasons upon this subject in a manner so just and philosophical, that it is astonishing the mere authority of the schools could have so long diverted the attention of enquirers, and prevented them so long from beginning really to observe. The treatise * alluded to, is so remarkable for a train of the most happy suggestions, that I cannot help recommending it to your perusal; and to justify what I advance, allow me to lay before you the following quotations:—"Ego nostris non assentior.

* *Quæst. Natur. l. vii.*

“ Non enim existimo cometen subetaneum
 “ ignem, sed inter æterna opera naturæ *.—
 “ Cometes habet suam sedem: et ideo non
 “ cito expellitur, sed emittitur suum spatium:
 “ non extinguitur, sed excedit. Si erratica,
 “ inquit, stella esset, in signifero esset. Quis
 “ unum stellis limitem ponit? Quis in an-
 “ gustum divina compellit? Nempe hæc ipsa
 “ sidera, quæ sola moveri credis, alios et alios
 “ circulos habent. Quare ergo non aliqua
 “ sint quæ in proprium iter, et ab istis re-
 “ motum secesserint †?—Multa sunt quæ esse
 “ concedimus: qualia sint, ignoramus.—
 “ Quid ergo miramur, cometas, tam rarum
 “ spectaculum, non dum teneri legibus certis;
 “ neque initia illorum, finesque notescere
 “ quorum ex ingentibus intervallis recursus
 “ est?”——“ With *our* philosophers I do not
 “ agree. I cannot believe that a comet is a
 “ fire suddenly kindled, but that it ought to
 “ be ranked among the everlasting works of
 “ nature. A comet has its proper place,
 “ from which it is not quickly thrown out;
 “ but goes its course: is not extinguished;
 “ but leaves us. An objector may say, if it

* Cap. 22. † Cap. 23, 24, 25.

“ were

“ were a wandering star, it would keep in
 “ the zodiac. But who can confine the stars?
 “ or restrain the works of God to a narrow
 “ compass? Those very stars, believed by
 “ you to be the only bodies of the kind that
 “ have any motion, move in circles very dif-
 “ ferent from one another. Why, therefore,
 “ may not some stars withdraw into paths of
 “ their own, and distinct from the rest? We
 “ grant that many things exist, of whose na-
 “ ture we are ignorant. Why then should
 “ we be surprised, since the appearance of
 “ comets is so rare, that we know nothing of
 “ the laws by which their motions are go-
 “ verned, nor of the limits within which
 “ they move, nor of the periods in which
 “ they revolve?” To these wonderful anti-
 cipations he subjoins the following remark-
 able prophecy: “ Veniet tempus, quo ista quæ
 “ nunc latent in lucem dies extrahat, et lon-
 “ gioris ævi diligentia. Ad inquisitionem
 “ tantorum ætas una non sufficit. Veniet
 “ tempus, quo posterì nostri tam aperta nos
 “ nescisse mirentur. Erit qui demonstret
 “ aliquando, in quibus cometæ partibus er-
 “ rent, cur tam seducti a cæteris eant, quanti
 “ qualesque sint.”——“ The time will come,

“ when those things which are now hid
 “ from us, shall, by the diligence and obser-
 “ vation of after ages, be fully disclosed.
 “ For one age alone is not sufficient for in-
 “ vestigating matters of such importance.
 “ The time will come, when posterity will
 “ wonder that we were ignorant of things so
 “ plain. One will arise, who will demon-
 “ strate in what region of space the comets
 “ wander, why they recede so far from the
 “ other planets, how great, and what sort of
 “ bodies they are.”

But notwithstanding this bright emanation
 from a philosophy so pure and refined, it was
 not till about the year 1300 that comets were
 observed with any attention. Mention is
 made, indeed, by authors before that period of
 no fewer than 415; but from their informa-
 tion, little else, excepting the knowledge that
 such bodies made their appearance at the time
 specified, can be derived. The particulars
 narrated are too general to admit of any cer-
 tain comparison with comets that have visited
 us in later times. But since the thirteenth
 century, or rather since the time of Tycho
 Brahe, so much has been accomplished, that
 astronomers

astronomers have now about fifty comets so well ascertained, that they will have no difficulty of knowing, whether any which may hereafter appear be of that number. The period of any one, being in this manner determined, its return in future times may be foretold: and thus, by degrees, the number of all those stars may come to be known, and their courses settled. In the year 1758, astronomers had just cause of triumph, by the actual return of one of those bodies, according to a prediction founded on the principles now mentioned. This was the comet which had appeared before in the year 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, and which seems to be the Mercury of all the rest, as it is now certain, that it revolves about the Sun in so short a period as seventy-six years. Seventy-five years was its period the time before; but Dr. Halley shewed plainly, from the laws of gravitation, that the action of the planets would necessarily protract its return about one year: and therefore prognosticated, that its return would be towards the end of 1758, or the beginning of 1759. These conclusions were also confirmed by some most elaborate computations made by the members of the French academy, when the time drew

near, and when the attention of philosophers was again directed to a subject so interesting. The fact, by a most exact agreement, justified the principles upon which they had founded their opinion: for, in the evening of the 25th of December 1758, the expected visitant was discovered tending to its perihelion, and continued visible till the 14th of February 1759, when it was near its conjunction. On the 1st of April it again appeared in its recess from the Sun, in the morning; and was observed, by many astronomers, in different parts of Europe for a considerable time after, with such circumstances as left no doubt of its being the identical comet that had appeared in 1682.—There is another comet, which, from the correspondence of period with one formerly observed, and other striking circumstances of agreement, both as to the species and situation of the orbit, is expected to return at a determined time; and that too at no great distance. This is the comet which appeared in 1532, and 1661, and which, at an equal interval of 129 years, may be again looked for about the year 1789.

The

The comet, with whose appearance we are next best acquainted is, that memorable one which was seen so long in the year 1680. At that time a concurrence of happy circumstances contributed to the improvement of this part of astronomy. The comet itself, of all others, from the extraordinary curvature of its orbit, was most suited to discover to us the laws by which its motions were governed. Its tract in the heavens was carefully and critically marked by Casini and Flamsteed, in the lately established observatories at Paris and Greenwich. But, above all, Sir ISAAC NEWTON then flourished in the vigour of his genius, and had unfolded the true system of the world. He demonstrated, from many observations of this great comet, that, like the planets, it was subject to the law of general gravitation; and, like them, respected the Sun in its periodical course. After this, upon the principles laid down by Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Halley determined, by an elaborate computation, what would be the motion of a body carried round the Sun in a certain ellipsis, with a period of 575 years, and found it most perfectly to agree with the observed places of this very comet. Perceiving this, and re-

4 marking

marking that history makes mention of three very extraordinary comets which succeeded one another by the same number of years, he concluded, not without the highest probability, that all of them were one and the same comet, whose last return to its perihelion was in the year 1680.

The first period, according to the information given me by the friend to whom I am indebted for the preceding account, carries us back to the year 1106, when Henry the First was King of England. The comet is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle by one who seems to have been an eye witness. He tells us, "That on Friday, February 16, a wonderful comet appeared; and was seen a long time afterwards every evening. The star itself was in the south-east; but the ray which proceeded from it was very clear and large, shining to the north-west."—Also, in the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes, in the time of the Emperor Justinian, another comet like this appeared; and is mentioned in the following manner by the author of the Antiochean Chronicle:—"A great and fearful star appeared in the west,
" sending

“ sending forth a white beam upwards,
“ which, as it appeared like the flashes of
“ lightning, some called it Lampadion. It
“ was seen for twenty days.”—Another pe-
riod of 575 years brings us to the 44th year
before Christ, when, soon after the death of
Julius Cæsar, a very remarkable comet ap-
peared, mentioned by many historians; and
also by Pliny, who gives us the very words of
Augustus Cæsar concerning it:---“ In the
“ very days of my games, a blazing star was
“ seen in that part of the heavens which is
“ under the Septemtriones. It arose about
“ the eleventh hour; and was clearly to be
“ seen all over the world.”---From these ac-
counts it appears, that this comet has been
observed thrice since the birth of Christ; and
once before that æra. In all four times. But
if it performs its revolution regularly and
uniformly in the space of 575 years, it must,
though unobserved, have returned frequently
before that period. If you consult Blair’s
Chronological Tables upon this subject, you
will find, that it must have returned in the
year 619, B. C. in the reign of Josiah King
of Judah, when Halyattus II. reigned in Ly-
dia, or, according to Alfædus, in the reign of
King

King Hezekiah. The next period of its appearance must have been in the year 1194, B. C. at the beginning of the Trojan war. Another period of 575 years carries us back to the year 1769, B. C.; and in the year 1764 was the deluge of Ogyges, by which a considerable part of Greece was rendered desolate for 200 years. Other 575 years brings you to the year 2344, B. C. within four years of the universal deluge, which happened in the year 1348. Add 575 years, and you come to the year 2919, B. C. the æra of Lamach and Mathusalem. And by another revolution of our comet, we come at the year 3494, B. C.; so that if this account be well founded, it must have visited us six times before the birth of Christ, exclusive of its appearance in the age of Augustus. If you suppose its revolutions to have gone on in the same order before our globe was brought into the system, you will have it travelling through our planetary region no later than sixty-five years before what we call the creation of the world. I leave you to your own reflections on these, I had almost called them coincidences. If they are not, they are very nearly so: and if this be granted, might not
great

great allowance be made for inaccuracy of calculations; difficulty of ascertaining ancient dates; and also for variety, produced by unknown causes in the period in which the comet itself may have performed its revolution? The known anomalies in the motions of other comets, and even of the planets belonging to our system, occasioned by mutual gravitation, or their actions on one another, render this last supposition by no means improbable. But you will say, I am launching into the sea of conjecture.

One thing, however, is certain, that this very comet, of all others yet known, interferes most with the path of the planets; and more especially with that of our habitation. Nor is it possible to read Dr. Halley's description of the progress of a body so vast and formidable, in its last visit to the Sun, without considerable emotion. "Now this comet," says he, "in that part of its orbit in which it descended towards the Sun, came so near the path of all the planets, that if by chance it had happened to meet any one of them when passing by, it must have produced very sensible effects; and the motion

“ tion of the comet itself would have suffered
“ the greatest disturbance. In such a case,
“ the plane and species of its elliptic orbit, and
“ its periodic time, would have been greatly
“ changed ; especially from coming near Ju-
“ piter. In the late descent, the true path of
“ the comet left the orbit of Saturn and Ju-
“ piter below itself a little towards the south ;
“ it approached much nearer to the paths of
“ Venus and Mercury ; and much nearer
“ still to that of Mars. But as it was passing
“ through the plane of the ecliptic to its
“ southern node, it came so near to the plane
“ of the Earth, that, had it arrived thirty
“ days later than it did, it would scarce have
“ left our globe one semidiameter of the Sun
“ towards the north, and, without doubt, by
“ its centripetal force, it would have pro-
“ duced some change upon the situation and
“ species of the Earth’s orbit, and upon the
“ length of the year. But may the great
“ good God avert a shock or contact of such
“ great bodies, moving with such forces
“ (which however, is manifestly not impos-
“ sible), lest this beautiful order of things be
“ entirely destroyed, and reduced into its an-
“ cient chaos !”

Allow

Allow me to conclude my letter with repeating my congratulation on your having begun the study of the stars ; and to give you joy on the delightful improvement it will afford you. Permit me also to say, that, in prosecuting this study, persons in your situation have peculiar advantages.

Dī tibi divitias dederint, artemque fruendi.

I see you, in "my mind's eye," shaking off the slumbers of that light and refreshing sleep which only visits the couch of temperance ; anticipating the dawn of morning ; ascending the little eminence in the lawn adjoining to your elegant villa ; and there conversing with the host of heaven. You will never repent of such early vigils ; but will find those silent times, before the bustle and cares of the day begin, the fittest season for contemplation. Beholding, with philosophic attention, those glorious fires that blaze through the regions of boundless space, and administer their benign influences to innumerable surrounding planets ; how your thoughts will ascend ; and your heart glow with serene enjoyment ! With what transport of soul will you reflect, that all this exuberance of creation was formed

ed by the rule of wisdom, and is governed by immutable order!---Ye glorious fires! how long have you kept watch in the heavens? Where were ye before your courses brought time itself into being? By what original spark were ye kindled? Who stored with light your never-failing urns? Is the morning of your existence still remembered, when the Almighty yet held you in the palm of his hand? Know, ye stupendous host! though your radiance proclaims an order of things majestically great; yet the eye of reason is filled with rays of a far purer lustre. They beam from beyond the veil that surrounds you; and with irresistible energy, raise our views to that eternal, self-existent Essence, the fountain of life, the great Author of universal nature.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty, thine this universal frame,
Thus wond'rous fair; thyself how wond'rous then!
Unspeakable! who sit'st *above these heav'ns*.

LETTER XXVI.

*An Equestrian Statue of Peter the Great.—
The Rock intended for the Pedestal.*

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, 1770.

THE most skilful and ingenious statuary in Europe, is employed here at present in executing an Equestrian Statue of Peter the Great. The design in this work is partly allegorical. The pedestal is to represent a rock, and the horse appears with great spirit and exertion in the act of ascending it. This is to indicate the difficulties surmounted by Peter in his great labour of reforming the Russians. An enormous snake, by which Envy is typified, appears, though still lifting its head, to be trampled upon by the hind-feet of the horse. I confess this seems to me both a conceit and a common-place ornament. Besides, as benign and complacent emotions are intended to be the general effect produced by the Statue in the beholder, the circumstance now mentioned conveys too much of a different feeling. For, in works of taste, unity of feeling is of no small importance.

N

The

The snake, however, serves a more convenient purpose; and is very useful in supporting or in fixing the horse's tail.

Peter is in the attitude of stretching out one of his arms. He is thus intended to express parental affection for his people: and when we are told that this is the artist's intention, we are satisfied that he has done what he purposed. The expression of the countenance is happy and characteristic: you see in it affection and wisdom; not, however, without some lineaments of that ferocity which served as a foil to Peter's amazing merit. At the same time, I could have wished that the work, which, in other respects, is really exquisite, had been less allegorical. The graces and beauties of allegory submit not their delicate tints and features either to the pencil or the chisel. They are challenged by the muse alone.—The drapery in this statue is, with great judgment, intended to be as simple as possible. It exhibits the original dress of the Russians. The statue, you may be sure, is a topic of conversation here at present; and this last circumstance has given occasion for some good criticism on the *Costume*.

The

The rock intended for the pedestal, is itself a curiosity. I went lately into Carelia, where it now lies, that I might see it in its natural state. It was then forty feet long, twenty-two in breadth, and twenty-two in height; but before it be brought to St. Petersburg, it will probably be a good deal curtailed. It is quite detached, lying a little way below the surface of the earth, and is altogether unconnected with any stratum of stone or of rock. In its composition it seems to contain a great deal of granite and onyx. It admits of an exquisite polish; and displays some beautiful mixtures of white, black, and grey. In some of its veins it sparkles; and some of its streaks exhibit a fine mixture of pale red, or blush colour. Ear-rings and sleeve-buttons, cut out of the fragments of this rock, are at present very fashionable. It is to be conveyed to the side of the Neva on a machine drawn by men: it is there to be put on board a large barge, and to be towed by boats to the city.

The artist who is engaged in this immortal work, has brought with him to this place a fine marble figure, intended as an allegorical representation of Winter. A very proper ornament, you will say, for the metropolis of a

northern empire. There is, however, something very particular in the nature of the design. Winter is represented as a female, very beautiful, and very young. She is arrayed in loose drapery; her countenance is expressive of the most tender affection, as she appears gracefully bending over some winter flowers, and in the act of protecting them, with a fold of her garment, from the severity of the weather. But how, you will ask, as I took the liberty of doing, are we to know that this is Winter? By the following—shall I venture to say, conceit?—Near her, on the pedestal, is an earthen vase filled with water: the fluid, by expansion occasioned by the frost, had burst the edge of the vessel, and the broken fragment is lying beside it! But my chief objection is against the general design. Ought not Winter, agreeably to the conduct both of poets and painters, to appear herself not insensible to the effects of cold? Is not Death, when personified, represented as a skeleton? or such as Milton has represented him? And is not Danger, exhibited by Collins, in actual danger?

Danger! whose limbs of giant mould,
What mortal eye can fix'd behold?

Who

Who stalks his round, an hideous form,
Howling amid the midnight storm;
Or throws him on the ridgy steep
Of some loose hanging rock to sleep.

Fear, by the same Poet, appears starting, flying, and in disorder :

Ah, Fear ! ah, frantic Fear !
I see, I see thee near ;
I know thy hurried step, thy haggard eye,
Like thee I start, like thee disorder'd fly.

Despair, too, according to the masterly delineation of Spenser, is represented as suffering the most excruciating torment.

" These writers," replies the artist, who is also an acute critic, " have conducted themselves erroneously. I follow a plan more consistent, and more correct. I represent the Power who presides over the season; who has the sole management of frosts and of tempests; and cannot therefore be supposed to suffer by their inclemency." The thought is ingenious; but I cannot subscribe to the doctrine. The discussion of this point, however, would involve me in a longer letter than I have leisure to write at present. Adieu.

L E T T E R XXVII.

Fables imitated from the German of GELLERT,

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, 1770.

THE most popular among the living authors in Germany, in so far as I may judge from what I can hear of German literature in this place, is the famous Gellert. He is a professor at Leipfig; and is universally celebrated, not only as a man of distinguished ability, but of great worth. As an author, he is particularly distinguished for smoothness of versification, propriety of expression, and elegance, rather than strength of invention. His works are of different kinds; Letters, tales, and fables. In the apologue, he is considered as the Phædrus of Germany. I shall therefore conclude the specimens I have already given you of German literature, with the following imitations of some of his fables. They are imitations, rather translations: I
would

would have rendered them into verse, if I had felt myself in a mood for rhyming; or rather if I had thought myself equal to the task. Nor can I pretend to any thing else in the subsequent outlines, than to give you some notion of the inventive powers of an author, whom his countrymen have ranked very high among those that excel in elegant composition. * * * * *

I.

*The NIGHTINGALE and the LARK.**A LESSON to POETS.*

WHILE a Nightingale chanted in the midst of a forest, the neighbouring hills and valleys were delighted with her exquisite melody. Every wild bird forgot to sing, listening with fond admiration. Aurora tarried behind the hill, attending to her musical cadences; and Philomel, in honour of the goddess, warbled with unusual sweetness. At length she paused, and the Lark took the opportunity of thus addressing her: "Your
" music meets with just approbation; the
" variety, the clearness, and tenderness of the

" notes are inimitable ; nevertheless, in one
 " circumstance I am entitled to a preference.
 " My melody is uninterrupted ; and every
 " morning is ushered with my gratulations.
 " Your song, on the contrary, is heard but
 " seldom ; and, except during a few weeks
 " in the summer, you have no claim to pe-
 " culiar attention." " You have mention-
 " ed," replied the Nightingale, " the very
 " cause of my superior excellence. I attend
 " to, and obey, the dictates of Nature. I ne-
 " ver sing but by her incitement, nor ever
 " yield to importunate, but uninspired inclina-
 " tion."

II.

The TRAVELLER.

DURING the violence of a storm, a Travel-
 ler implored relief from Jupiter, and intreat-
 ed him to assuage the tempest. But Jupiter
 lent a deaf ear to his intreaty. Struggling
 with the unabating fury of the whirlwind,
 tired, and far from shelter, he grew peevish
 and discontented. " It is thus (he said)
 " the Gods, to whom our sacrifices are offer-
 " ed daily, heedless of our welfare, and
 " amused

“ amused with our sufferings, make an ostentatious parade of their omnipotence.” At length, approaching the verge of a forest, “ Here,” he cried, “ I shall find that succour and protection which Heaven, either unable or unwilling, hath refused.” But as he advanced, a robber rose suddenly from a brake; and our Traveller, impelled by instant terror, and the prospect of great danger, betook himself to flight, exposing himself to the tempest of which he had so bitterly complained. His enemy, mean while, fitting an arrow to his bow, took exact aim; but the bow-string being relaxed with the moisture, the deadly weapon fell short of its mark, and the Traveller escaped uninjured. As he continued his journey, a voice issued awful from the clouds: “ Meditate on the providence as well as on the power of Heaven. The storm which you deprecated so blasphemously, hath been the means of your preservation. Had not the bow-string of your enemy been rendered useless by the rain, you had fallen a prey to his violence!”

III.

A Well-timed REBUKE.

PHILINDA, in the bloom of youth and beauty, soon became conscious of her charms. Like other comely maids, she attired herself in gaudy apparel, and was constantly consulting her mirror. Her brother, a grave and formal philosopher, celebrated for his erudition, declaimed against the vanity of the sex. "Have a care," replied Philinda, with a smile, "lest the charge be retorted. Hourly " I take counsel with my mirror, and hourly " you rehearse your own compositions."

IV.

The TENDER WIFE.

CLARINÉ loved her husband with sincere affection; for they had been only six weeks married. He constituted her sole felicity; for he was exactly suited to her mind. Their desires and aversions were the same. It was Clariné's study, by diligent attention, to anticipate her husband's wishes. "Such a wife," says my male reader, who entertains thoughts
of

of matrimony, "such a wife would I desire!" And such a wife mayst thou enjoy.—Clariné's husband fell sick. A dangerous malady. "No hope," said the Physician, and shook his awful wig. Bitterly wept Clariné: "O Death, might I prefer a petition!" "Spare, O spare my husband! Let me be the victim in his stead!" Death heard, appeared; "and what," cried he, "is thy request?" "There," said Clariné, trembling and astonished, "there he lies; pierced with intolerable agony, he implores thy speedy relief!"

V.

The YELLOW HAMMER *and*
NIGHTINGALE,

A Yellow Hammer and a Nightingale were suspended in their cages at the outside of Damon's window. The Nightingale began to warble, and Damon's child was smit with admiration of his melody. "Which of the birds," said he, "sings so delightfully?" "I will shew you them," answered the father, "and you may guess." The boy fixed his eye on the Yellow Hammer;
"This

"This must be the songster. How beautifully painted are his feathers! The other, you may see by his plumage, is quite unmusical, and good for nothing!" "The vulgar," said Damon, "judge precisely after the same manner, and form their opinion of merit merely by external appearance."

VI.

The FOX and MAGPIE.

SAID Renard to a Magpie, "May I presume to ask the subject of your incessant discourse? Doubtless you discuss many curious and important inquiries." "True," answered the Magpie, "I minister truth and instruction to the public. From the eagle even to the bat, all partake of my wisdom." "May I request a specimen of your knowledge?" said the Fox, with a submissive tone.—As a quack-doctor mounts the stage, extols the virtue of his drugs, draws out a voluminous handkerchief, and coughs, and spits, and harangues; so the Magpie, skipping from bough to bough, whetting his beak, and assuming an air of profound sagacity and importance, addressed his disciple: "My chief

“delight is in communicating and diffusing
“knowledge. Attend to the following
“theory, proved by incontestable facts, and
“of signal consequence to the welfare of
“foxes:-- Have you not hitherto imagined,
“that it is by four feet alone that you per-
“form the operations of running and walk-
“ing?” “Certainly,” said Renard. “Then
“be assured,” added the instructor, “that
“you have laboured under a gross misappre-
“hension. I will evince, by irrefragable ar-
“guments, that you run, walk, and skip
“upon five feet. When you run, your foot
“moves; and when you neither walk nor
“run, your foot is at rest. Again, when you
“walk, your tail touches the ground. These
“principles are simple and self-evident.
“Mark the consequence. When your foot
“moves, your tail moves; your foot moves
“from one place to another; and so does
“your tail. And, again, when you run
“full speed, your tail touches the ground;
“therefore your tail is your fifth foot:
“Q. E. D.” “Excellent,” cried the Fox,
“the less we know, the readier we are to in-
“struct and demonstrate.”

VII.

The PAINTER.

A skilful Painter shewed a picture of Mars to a Connoisseur, and asked his opinion concerning it. The Connoisseur examined it closely, and spoke his sentiments without reserve. He told him he disliked it; alleging many good reasons for his dislike. But the artist was of a different mind; and his friend disputed with him at great length, without being able to convince him. Meantime a Fop entered the room; and casting a superficial glance at the picture, "Good Heavens!" cried he, in an extasy of admiration, "what a master-piece of art and invention! what an elegant foot! and how exactly are the nails proportioned! Mars lives in the picture! What ingenuity in that shield! and how much skill in the execution of the helmet!" The Painter was covered with utter shame and confusion. "Now," said he, "I am convinced of my mistake:" And the moment his applauding visitant withdrew, he expunged the godhead.—The work is bad, if a judge disapproves; if a fool praises, erase.

VIII.

The HIDDEN TREASURE.

A FATHER, on his death-bed, thus addressed his Son: "Providing for your welfare, "I laid up a Treasure——" Death interrupted him; for, without finishing his speech, he died. "A Treasure!" said the Son; "but "where?"—As soon, therefore, as the funeral ceremonies were performed, he gathered his friends and neighbours, and, with spades and pick-axes, turned up the adjacent fields. Their search was fruitless, and the young man, in despair, dismissed them. But looking accidentally into the bed where his Father died, he found the Treasure. "In like manner," says the Moralist, "we often neglect the direct and immediate means of discovering "the truth, and despise them because they "are easy."

LETTER XXVIII.

The Slavery of the Russian Peasants.

DEAR SIR,

I WILL endeavour, in so far as my own observation extends, and in so far as I may depend on the information I have received from others, to satisfy your enquiries concerning the political situation, and national character, of the Russians. On this subject I shall lay the facts and observations before you in the order in which they occur; and with such occasional incidents or anecdotes, as may tend to illustrate any general remark. Nor will I trouble you with any apology for a method, if it may be termed method, so very desultory. In truth, I want leisure, and, perhaps, many other requisites, for composing a formal treatise. I will therefore console myself, and endeavour to satisfy you, by observing, that, for the purposes of mere amusement, the arrangement I have chosen is perhaps

haps as proper as any other. I have also to premise, that if any thing severe shall happen to escape me concerning the form of the Russian government, it can only be concerning the *form*, and without any view to the present administration. I believe sincerely that no despot, or, if you like the term better, no absolute monarch, ever ruled with more prudence, or studied the welfare of his people with more rectitude of intention, than the present Empress of Russia. Yet it is impossible for a native of Britain, giving an account of this country to an Englishman, not to express such feelings and reflections, as a comparison between the British government, and that of other nations, must naturally suggest.

The peasants in Russia, that is to say, the greatest part of the subjects of this empire, are in a state of abject slavery; and are reckoned the property of the nobles to whom they belong, as much as their dogs and horses. Indeed, the wealth of a great man in Russia is not computed by the extent of land he possesses, or by the quantity of grain he can bring to market, but by the number of his slaves. Those belonging to Prince Sherebatoff,

toff, and constituting his fortune, are said to be no less in number than a hundred and twenty-seven thousand.

Every slave pays about a ruble * yearly to his owner ; and if he be in the way of making money, the tribute he pays is augmented. In general, every Russian nobleman allots to the peasants that belong to him, a certain portion of land to be cultivated by them, the produce of which, excepting what suffices for their own maintenance, is paid to the proprietor. Sometimes those slaves practise trades, or engage in traffic ; and all such persons pay a much greater sum yearly to their owners, than is done by the labourer of the ground. In fact, a Russian peasant has no property ; every thing he possesses, even the miserable raiment that shelters him from the cold, may be seized by his master as his own.—A carpenter, being known to have made some money, was commanded by the rapacious steward of a rapacious Knaez, to give two hundred rubles to his owner. The man obeyed, and brought the money in cop-

* Four Shillings.

†

per.

per. "I must have it in silver," said the steward. The slave, denying that he had so much, was instantly scourged till he promised to fulfil the demand. He brought the silver, and the covetous superior retained both the silver and copper.—You will easily conceive, that men in this situation, if they are ever enabled to improve their fortunes, will conceal their wealth, and assume an external appearance of indigence and misery.

The owner has also the power of selling his slave, or of hiring his labour to other persons; and, it happens sometimes, that a Knaez, or Boyard, shall give a slave to a neighbouring Boyard in exchange for a dog or a horse. The owner may also inflict on his slaves whatever punishment he pleases, and for any sort of offence. It is against law, indeed, to put any of them to death; yet it happens, sometimes, that a poor slave dies of the wounds he receives from a passionate and unrelenting superior. I have heard, that not long ago a lady at Moscow, the sister of Marischal S——, was convicted of having put to death upwards of seventy slaves, by scourging, and by inflicting upon them other

O 2

barbarous

barbarous punishments. It was a matter of amusement with her to contrive such modes of punishment as were whimsical and unusual. Such enormity, however, notwithstanding her rank, and the great power which the nobility have over their slaves, was not to pass with impunity. She was tried, was found guilty, and condemned to stand in the market-place, with a label on her breast declaring her crime, and to be shut up in a dungeon. But she, who had felt no reluctance in making her fellow-creatures suffer the most inhuman torments, and had even amused herself with the variety of their sufferings, had such a sense of her rank, and such lively feelings of her own disgrace, that pride, shame, and resentment deprived her of her reason. In truth, both the crime and the punishment seem to me strongly marked with the characters of barbarity.

As a Russian peasant has no property, can enjoy none of the fruits of his own labour more than is sufficient to preserve his existence, and can transmit nothing to his children but the inheritance of wretched bondage, he thinks of nothing beyond the present. You
are

are not, of consequence, to expect among them much industry and exertion. Exposed to corporal punishment, and put on the footing of irrational animals, how can they possess that spirit and elevation of sentiment which distinguish the natives of a free state? Treated with so much inhumanity, how can they be humane? I am confident, that most of the defects which appear in their national character, are in consequence of the despotism of the Russian government.

I mentioned that the revenue of a Russian nobleman arises from those lands which are cultivated by his slaves; and sometimes in their being employed in other occupations than tillage. They often come from distant provinces, and are either employed as domestic slaves, mechanics, or as day-labourers, at Moscow, Petersburg, and other cities. In these cases they must have certificates and a written permit, specifying their names, owners, and the time they are allowed to be absent. When they come to any great town, with a view of remaining there, and engaging themselves in any work, the person who employs them must lodge their certificates with

the master of the police in the place where they are about to reside. After remaining their allotted time, they must return to their former owners, and must be accountable to them for every thing they have earned.—To these practices the Empress alludes in the following passages, in her instructions to the deputies assembled for making laws:—" It
" seems too, that the method of exacting
" their revenues, invented by the lords, di-
" minishes both the inhabitants, and the spi-
" rit of agriculture, in Russia. Almost all
" the villages are heavily taxed. The lords,
" who seldom or never reside in their vil-
" lages, lay an impost on every head, of one,
" two, and even five rubles, without the least
" regard to the means by which their peasants
" may be able to raise this money. It is
" highly necessary that the law should pre-
" scribe a rule to the lords, for a more judi-
" cious method of raising their revenues;
" and oblige them to levy such a tax as tends
" least to separate the peasant from his house
" and family: this would be the means by
" which agriculture would become more ex-
" tensive, and population more increased in
" the empire. Even now, some husbandmen
" do

“ do not see their houses for fifteen years together, and yet pay the tax annually to their respective lords; which they procure in towns at a vast distance from their families, and wander over the whole empire for that purpose.”

Another hardship to which the Russian peasants are exposed, is, that they are obliged to marry whatsoever persons, or at what time their superiors please. Every slave who is a father, pays a certain tax to his owner for each of his children; and the owner is therefore solicitous that a new progeny be raised as soon as possible. Marriages of this sort must produce little happiness; neither husband nor wife are very studious of conjugal fidelity: hence the lower classes are as profligate as can possibly be conceived; and, in such circumstances, we cannot expect that they will have much care of their children.

The condition of those peasants who are immediate slaves of the crown, is reckoned less wretched than the condition of those who belong to the nobility; and they are of three kinds: The first are those who, having either

secretly, or by the favour of a humane superior, been able to procure as much money as may enable them to purchase their freedom, have also the good luck to live under a superior who is equitable enough to free them for the sum they offer. Such persons, and their children, are ever after immediate slaves of the crown. On the same footing are all priests and their children; though the dependance of the inferior upon the superior clergy, is sometimes as grievous as the most painful bondage. Soldiers also, and their children; and this class includes the whole body of the nobility, are immediate slaves of the crown.

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
Britannos!

Adieu.

LETTER XXIX.

*The Persons—Food—Dress—Houses—and
Names of the Russian Peasants.*

THE Russians are tall, robust, and well-proportioned; their teeth are remarkably good; their hair is in general black, and their complexions ruddy. I have scarcely seen any red-haired persons among them; and those who are fair, are not so good-looking as those who are dark-complexioned. Squinting or stuttering are seldom met with; and you see few or none who are either lame or deformed. Perhaps, from the little care the poor people can have of their children, and from the misery of their enslaved condition, most of those who are feeble and ill-formed die in their infancy. Indeed I have heard another reason alleged for the few lame and deformed people that appear in Petersburg. The Empress Elizabeth, it is said, had

had so much delicacy, that she could not bear to behold such persons ; and therefore prohibited their appearing in the places where she chose to reside. This cause, however, now ceases to operate ; nor have I heard that her present majesty was ever afflicted with such aversions. —The women of all ranks in this country, though very sprightly and very gay, for ever dancing, and singing, and laughing, and talking, have not the same pretensions that the men have to good looks, and the graces of external appearance. They have no delicacy of shape ; and their complexions are ——— what they please. For those even in the lowest condition, if they are able to afford it, bedaub their faces with red. Red is the favourite colour here, insomuch, that the word denoting it in the Russian language, is synonymous with beautiful.

The Russian peasants eat a kind of black bread, made of rye, barley, buck-wheat, and other grains of an inferior quality ; it is sour, but not unwholesome. They also eat a great deal of garlic, coarse oil, and fish. They make no cheese ; and are not much acquainted with the uses of milk. They drink a bad kind

kind of mead, and liquors made of wild fruits; but their chief potation, and of which they partake very freely, is extracted from the corns which their country produces.—What Tacitus says of the ancient Germans is, in this circumstance, quite applicable to the Russians: “Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quondam similitudinem vini corruptus.—Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem: adversus sitim, non eâdem temperantiâ.” “Their drink is a liquor prepared from barley or wheat; corrupted into a certain resemblance of wine.—They satisfy hunger without regard to the elegancies and delicacies of the table. In quenching their thirst they are not equally temperate*.”

Though they are in general strong and healthy, they are sometimes attacked by severe diseases. Their fish diet in Lent brings upon them violent fluxes. They are also subject to scorbutic disorders, for which, however, Nature provides an excellent antidote in the berries that grow native in Russia. These

* Aikin;

are the maroshki *; a berry in size and shape like a mulberry, but hard, of a reddish or yellowish colour, having a subacid taste, with little flavour, and growing on a small plant about half a foot high; the glukoi, or cranberry; wild strawberries; and hurtleberries.

Their dress, I mean that of the Russian peasants, is very simple, and well suited to their rigorous climate. It consists of skins, coarse woollen cloth, and coarse linen, which they use for shirts or drawers. Their upper garment is a large frock, reaching to their knees, folding over before, and fastened about the middle with a girdle. In the various and glaring colours of the girdle, they sometimes endeavour to display their taste. They have pieces of cloth wrapped in a variety of folds about their legs, and fastened with strings;

* Cloudberry—*Rubus chamæmorus foliis simplicibus lobatis, caule inermi unifloro*.—The Swedes and Norwegians esteem cloudberry to be an excellent antiscorbutic; they preserve great quantities of them in the autumn, to make tarts and other confections. The Laplanders bruise and eat them, as a delicious food, in the milk of the rein-deer; and to preserve them through the winter, they bury them in snow, and at the return of spring find them as fresh and good, as when at first gathered.

LIGHTFOOT.

nor do they seem at all solicitous of exhibiting in this limb any qualities of shape or proportion. Their necks are naked, and exposed to the weather, and, of consequence, they resemble bulls necks. They have long beards and bushy hair; and have their heads covered with worsted or fur caps, rising for the most part in a conic form. Every Russian, of what rank soever, usually wears upon his breast, and hanging by a ribbon or string tied about his neck, a small cross of gold, silver, or lead. They receive these crosses from their God-fathers at their baptism; and they never part with them as long as they live.

Their houses are made of wood, and constructed in a very particular manner. A number of large trees are stripped of their bark; they are not cut into deals, but are laid close and horizontally upon one another; they are fastened at the end with wooden pegs; and thus, by fixing the end of one tree into another, they constitute the walls. The roof is sometimes of boards, and sometimes thatched. I have heard, that houses of this sort are frequently placed on wheels, so as to be moveable from one place to another. The
Russians,

Russians, in constructing their houses, make use of very few instruments. The hatchet is almost the only one in use among them ; it serves them even for a saw ; and it is wonderful how straight and regularly they can cut with it. They make use neither of the plane nor of the chisel. I except from this account those who are professed carpenters.

In the country, the Russians generally live in small villages ; the ground which they are to labour for their proprietors is in the neighbourhood ; and in this case, every man is his own taylor, carpenter, and shoemaker. In every village there are superintendants, petty tyrants !

In so far as I can learn, the Russian peasants have no surnames. Incapable of holding any property, and having nothing but bondage to transmit to their children, such distinction is useless. Those among them that affect surnames, generally take the name of their proprietor, additionally to their christian name. The most common christian names that I have heard among them are, Cusma, Gregory, Stephen ; Ivan, which they
translate

translate John ; Vafili, which they translate William ; Demetrius, Alexis, and others, manifestly derived from their neighbours in the south. This circumstance will appear to you the more surprising, that little intercourse subsisted between the Russians and the subjects of the eastern empire. It is owing to their religion. According to the tenets of the Greek church, every day in the year is sacred to some particular saint ; and every child is believed to be under the protection of the holy personage who was homaged on his birthday. Hence, too, unless for some very particular reason, all Russian children are called by the names of saints ; and, as many of the saints have Greek names, the Barbarians by the Ladago, or the White Sea, are called by appellations familiar, in later times, in Athens or Byzantium. It follows, of consequence, in a country where the worship of images is practised, that every one has an image of the sainted person who protects him, and who is honoured accordingly. This image is so placed in the corner of his room, as to be the witness of all his actions, and receive humble obeisance as he enters the door. Hence, in every house and shop,
you

you see an effigy of the tutelary saint ; and, in days of religious solemnity, a wax candle or two are lighted before him. But though the Russians have such sacred witnesses of their conduct, they soon become so familiar with them, as to hazard the performance of any act whatsoever before them ; and I have not heard of any but some of the fair sex, who, in cases of irresistible temptation, have thought of veiling with an apron the face of the blushing saint.—In regard to surnames I already mentioned, that the peasants, in so far as I could learn, have no such appellation. If there are several of a name, they are distinguished from each other by taking the name of their father, compounded with the words, which, in their language, signify son or daughter, and so denoting that particular relation. Thus, Ivan Petrowits, signifies Ivan the son of Peter ; and Anna Ivanowna, signifies Anna the daughter of Ivan. Adieu.

LETTER XXX.

*The Salutations—Quarrels—and Amusements
of the Russian Peasants.*

DEAR SIR,

IN my last, I gave you some account of the persons, food, dress, houses, and names of the Russians. The circumstances I shall now mention, concerning their salutations, quarrels, and amusements, may give you a more particular view of their manners and national character.

Two Russian peasants, meeting each other, take off their caps, bow most profoundly, shake hands, wipe their beards, kiss one another, and, according to their different ages, call one another brother or father, or by some appellation that expresses affection. Both men and women in their salutations bow very low. I was much struck with this circumstance;

stance; and soon found, that, in their obedience to the great, and in the worship of their saints, they were early trained to prostration and pliancy of body. Indeed, the servile submission they testify to their superiors, can only be equalled by the haughty usage they meet with in return.

Two Russian peasants, if they should happen to quarrel, seldom proceed to blows; but they deal abuse with great profusion; and their abusive language consists of the basest allusions, and the most shocking obscenity. This can scarcely be exemplified in the manners of any other nation. If ever they come to blows, the conflict has a most ludicrous appearance; they know nothing of the clenched fist of an Englishman; but lay about them most uncouthly with open hands and extended arms.

I know no circumstance by which the national character of any people may more easily be detected, than their amusements. When men divert themselves, they are careless, unguarded, and unreserved: then the
heart,

heart, and all its latent tendencies, disguised inclinations, and indulged habits, appear. Nor am I acquainted with any circumstance by which national characters are more diversified. The Romans were a less refined people than the Greeks; their amusements accordingly were coarser and more sanguinary. In like manner the diversions of the French and Spaniards mark the difference of their national character. The pastime of the Spaniards, without doors, is fierce and bloody; nor is the Toros, or bull-fight, of which they are so passionately fond, the amusement of men only, but has its admirers also among the women. Hence Butler has said of them,

That Spanish heroes, with their lances,
At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies:
And he acquires the noblest spouse
That widows greatest herds of cows.

Chefs, and the other amusements to which a Spaniard has recourse within doors, are certainly very grave and solemn. How different from the gaiety, sprightliness, good humour, and seeming levity of a Frenchman.

The diversions of an Englishman exhibit strength, agility, and the love of exertion. Those of a Russian exhibit sloth, inactivity, and the love of pleasure. The Russians, in their amusements, are indeed extremely social. They assemble in crowds, sing, drink, swinging on see-saws, are drawn up and down and round about in flying chairs fixed upon wheels, some with a perpendicular, and some with a horizontal motion.

In the winter season, they are pushed down ice-hills and glissades. Those ice-hills are raised upon the river, and are constructed of wooden frames. They are very high; so that you ascend fifty or sixty steps on the side behind what is properly called the glissade. The summit is flat, and enclosed with a rail, in order that those who indulge themselves in this amusement, may have room to stand and suffer no inconvenience in the descent. The side by which they go down is so steep, as to be just not perpendicular. Upon this snow having been piled, and water poured, it becomes a precipice of the smoothest ice. In descending, you sit upon a small wooden seat made for the purpose, and generally in the lap

lap of a Russian, who sits behind to direct your course, having his legs extended on each side of you. In this posture you are pushed down the hill, and slide with such velocity, that for some seconds you cannot breathe; and after reaching the bottom, the impulse you have received carries you forward some hundred paces. There are commonly two of these glissades erected almost, but not quite, opposite to each other; and at such a distance, as that you are carried along the ice from one to another. Thus you may go down the one hill and up the other, alternately, as often as you please.—Skating is not a common diversion, because the ice, where it is not swept, is usually covered with snow.—The Russians are also fond of dancing; yet their dancing does not display so much nimbleness, agility, and liveliness, as it expresses the same tainted imagination, which assumes a less seducing and more boisterous form in their quarrels and abuse.

I believe I may reckon their bathing rather an amusement than a religious practice. In every village, especially in those by the side of rivers, where they are generally built,

there is a steam-bath, constructed usually of wood, to which all the inhabitants, both male and female, repair regularly once a week. The place is so insufferably hot, that a person who is not accustomed to it, cannot remain in it above a few minutes. But those to whom it is not unusual, sit quietly for a long time on the heated bricks, without any covering whatsoever, excepting some branches of birch, of which, however, they hardly make any other use than to scrub themselves. After they have sat in this situation, till they have perspired abundantly, they run out, and plunge headlong into the river. They are excellent swimmers; but instead of swimming like frogs, as we do, they imitate rather the motion of dogs. I once saw one of those baths catch fire; the weather was dry; it blazed up in a moment, and the whole bevy it contained, ran with the utmost consternation into the water, screaming and plunging, and looking back as if they thought the flames were pursuing them.

You will perhaps imagine, that the practice of using the bath, as described above, contributes to the licentiousness of manners,

so

so remarkable in the lower classes among the Russians. No doubt it does; but some other circumstances, formerly mentioned, have the same tendency. The power possessed by superiors of compelling their slaves to marry as they shall direct, if ever exerted, must be completely destructive of domestic happiness and fidelity. The practice so common among the nobles, of removing their slaves from one place to another, and of keeping them a long time separated from their families, has also the same effect. You will readily perceive that this must be very much the case, when they are sent from the country villages, to earn their wages in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

You will have remarked too, in the accounts I have given you, that the lower classes here are very social, and much addicted to merriment. They are even infantine in their amusements. Old, bearded boors divert themselves with such pastime and gambols, as in our grave country we should think too trifling for a child. The truth is, that, beyond the present moment, they have nothing either to think about, or care for; and, of consequence,

P 4

they

they are perfectly thoughtless and careless. In the country they live chiefly in villages; when they come to the great towns, many of them having no houses of their own, pass most of their time, when they are not employed in labour, in their *cabecks**, where they drink, talk, and sing till they fall asleep; and on holidays they assemble together in vacant places in or near the city, for their customary exercises and amusements. Those two circumstances, therefore, namely, their social dispositions, promoted in the manner now mentioned, and their total want of care or concern about the future, give them the appearance of having great sprightliness and good humour, and of possessing no inconsiderable share of enjoyment. Persons of high rank, though their situations must occasion some variety in the circumstances that influence their manners, are subject to the same effects, and exhibit a similar appearance. If you call such enjoyment happiness, or such social dispositions virtuous, you may: I own I cannot agree with you. Russians of all ranks are most ardent in their expressions of

* Public-houses.

friendship;

friendship; but I suspect the constancy of their attachments is not equal to the fervency of their emotions. They have more sensibility than firmness; they possess a temper and dispositions, which, properly improved, and with the encouragements held forth by freedom, might render them a worthy, as, in some cases, they are an amiable, and, in many, an amusing people.

Consistently with this account, the Russians, though they have great quickness in learning the rudiments of art or knowledge, seldom make great proficiency. They soon arrive at a certain degree of excellence; there they remain; they tire; become listless; entertain disgust; and advance no further. In this particular, also, if they enjoyed the incitements afforded by a free government, their national character might improve, and they might be rendered capable of more perseverance. After the wishes of novelty cease, men engaged in arduous pursuits, must be carried on by a steady regard to their own interest and honour. Where their honour and interest are not much concerned, how can they persevere? Adieu.

LETTER XXXI.

Domestic Manners of Persons of Rank in Russia.

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, 1770.

I CANNOT say much for the taste displayed by persons of high rank in Russia, either in their dress, houses, or retinue. They are pompous and tawdry. The equipage of a Russian nobleman deserves particular notice. The great man lolls in a clumsy gilt coach, drawn by six horses, sometimes of different colours, and having the traces of hempen ropes instead of leather. The coachman and postilions are often in the coarse dress of the peasants, while three or four gorgeous footmen are stuck behind. One or two petty officers ride by the side of the coach, and these are usually attended by a peasant, who is also on horseback; and thus princes and noblemen

blemen are dragged to court.—They read plays and novels, and often some French philosophy. They sometimes write little comedies; and sometimes represent them, both in the French and Russian languages. I was lately present at the representation of “Le Philosophe Mari,” and “Annette and Lubin,” by some noblemen and ladies of the highest rank. They performed in the theatre in the Winter Palace, and the Empress seemed much amused with the representation.

I mentioned to you formerly, that the inferior orders of men in this country are in a state of abject slavery. Nor is it inconsistent with this account to say, that many persons of high rank in Russia live on a footing of easy familiarity with such of their menials as become favourites, and are capable of amusing them with their humour and low wit. All domestic tyrants, from the days of the Greeks and Romans inclusively, treat those slaves who are not favourites with the utmost rigour, and those who are, with weak unbecoming indulgence. Perhaps in no other country in Europe could you obtain a juster
idea

idea of the parasitical character, so frequently displayed by the comic and satirical poets of antiquity. The parasites here are in general Frenchmen, whose lively loquacity seems absolutely necessary for the amusement of those great men, to whose tables they have admission.

At the same time, if the following representation, in one of the finest satires that any language can boast of, be founded on observation, the circumstance now mentioned is not peculiar to the Russian Princes.

All that at home no more can beg or steal,
Or like a gibbet better than a wheel;
Hiss'd from the stage, or hooted from the court,
Their air, their dress, their politics import;
Obsequious, artful, voluble, and gay,
On Britain's fond credulity they prey.—
Studious to please, and ready to submit,
The supple Gaul was born a parasite:
Still to his int'rest true, where'er he goes,
Wit, bravery, worth, his lavish tongue bestows;
In every face a thousand graces shine,
From every tongue flows harmony divine.

The description is heightened in the next lines by a characteristical and happy contrast.

These

These arts in vain our rugged natives try,
Strain out with fault'ring diffidence a lie,
And gain a kick for awkward flattery.

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The satirist then proceeds in a successful vein
of playful irony; and concludes the passage
with a serious, and indignant address.

Besides, with justice this discerning age,
Admires their wondrous talents for the stage;
Well may they venture on the mimic's art,
Who play from morn to night a borrow'd part;
Practis'd their master's notions to embrace,
Repeat his maxims and reflect his face;
With ev'ry wild absurdity comply,
And view each object with another's eye;
To shake with laughter, ere the jest they hear,
To pour at will the counterfeited tear;
And as their patron hints the cold or heat,
To shake in dogdays, in December sweat;
How, when competitors like these contend,
Can surly Virtue hope to fix a friend?
Slaves that with serious impudence beguile,
And lie without a blush, without a smile.—
For arts like these, preferr'd, admir'd, caress'd,
They first invade your table, then your breast;
Explore your secrets with insidious art,
Watch the weak hour, and ransack all the heart;
Then soon your ill-plac'd confidence repay,
Commence your lords, and govern or betray.

Besides

Besides parasites, many Russians of high rank retain dwarfs in their families, and persons not without shrewdness, who affect folly, and amuse them in the character of buffoons. They also retain a vast number of other slaves, who are employed by them in all manner of necessary or whimsical services. The Countess W—— has in her family several Calmuck women, who are taught to read German and Russ, who read by her bed-side till she falls asleep; and continue reading or talking, without intermission, all the time she is asleep; for, if they did not, the Countess would awake immediately, not much, I suppose, to the satisfaction of the poor attendants.

I need scarcely tell you, that the Russians are very careless in the education of their children. They do not send them to public schools; but have them taught at home under private tutors. These tutors are generally French or Germans, into whose character they make but little enquiry. If their children learn to dance; and if they can read, speak, and write French, and have a little geography,

geography, they desire no more. I have seen one of those instructors, who has, in the course of his life; appeared in the different shapes of a comedian, valet-de-chambre, and hair-dresser.—Indeed I do not wonder at the conduct of the Russians in this respect. Why educate their children? They are to live and die in thralldom; they may be in glory to-day, and to morrow sent to Siberia. Why should they train their offspring for any expectations beyond those of the present moment? The citizens of free states alone are inexcusable, if they do not improve their minds to the utmost limits of their capacity. Why quicken the sensibilities, or enlarge the mind of a slave? You only teach him to hate himself. If, however, there was any probability, that, by enlightning the minds of the Russians, they should not only be enabled to discern the abasement of their condition; but also to contrive, and execute the means of emancipation, I should heartily regret their present blindness.

The military education of the Russian youth is conducted very differently. They have

have an academy in the Wasilostrow, where a very considerable number, but none under twelve years old, are admitted. Here they live together; and during the summer sleep in an adjoining field under tents. They are formed into a regiment; and each of them, of what rank soever, whether Prince, Count, or Boyard, must pass through every condition, beginning with that of a common soldier, and submit to every kind of obedience. They perform their exercises with great exactness, and are instructed in mathematics. From this seminary excellent officers may be expected. Like the Persians, described by Xenophon, they learn to obey before they are called to command.

After the account I have given you of the taste and literary education of the Russians, you will not be surprised if I tell you, that their religious principles are not very correct, nor in some of them, perhaps, very deeply rooted. A priest came to hear the confession of a great man. "Holy Father," says the Count, "have you a good memory." "Yes." "Then you remember what I told you at my
"last

"last confession. Since that time I have had
"the same temptations from without; the
"same weakness from within; and here is
"the same number of rubles."—I would
not say, however, that the Princes of Russia
are much inferior, either in religious or moral
improvement, to many great men, even in
those states of Europe that enjoy the means
of superior knowledge. If I am not much
mistaken, there are among them a greater
number who affect indifference or disbelief
in religious matters, than who really disbe-
lieve. Perhaps, in times of sickness, disgrace,
and low-spirits, they have more faith in St.
Nicholas, than in Voltaire.

The fair sex in all ages have more sensibi-
lity, less of the pride of reason, and I had al-
most said, more good sense than the men;
and accordingly you find fewer among them
who affect irreligion. Their notions may
be erroneous; this is owing to their instruc-
tors: but their dispositions are pious, and
they owe this to themselves. Indeed, when I
see Russian Princesses, as they sit down to an
entertainment, crossing themselves, which
they

Q

they do very gracefully, in testimony of religious gratitude, I respect both their good sense and their piety. They will excuse me, therefore, for telling the following story: I do not answer for the fact; but that such stories are told, and reckoned not improbable, may give you some notion of the religious manners of the Russians——A lady of high rank had a child suddenly seized with a violent illness. Full of anxiety, she dispatched a messenger to a neighbouring priest, intreating him to send a favourite saint, who might effectuate the cure. But the priest, being a sensible man, and unwilling to send the hallowed physician, without fixing the fee, or for some other reason, refused her request. The lady, in mighty wrath, hastened to the Empress, then some miles out of town, and brought a formal complaint against the priest. The Empress ordered him forthwith to comply. Accordingly the saint was sent, but he came a bootless errand; for a Scotch physician, little desirous that interlopers should interfere with his trade, had restored the child to health, before the arrival of his ghostly colleague.

I write

I write to you in a very desultory manner ;
and I am afraid I may sometimes be guilty
of repetition. The truth is, I have not a
great deal of leisure, and you have a great
deal of indulgence. Adieu.

LETTER XXXII.

Administration of Justice in Russia.

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLY to your desire, and to gratify my own curiosity, I have made every enquiry I could concerning the manner of administering justice in Russia. I am sorry, however, it is not in my power to give you such satisfactory information on this subject as I wished to have done. Nor can I offer you any other account of the courts of justice, the method of conducting a law-suit, or the punishment of crimes, than the following.

The Judge of lowest rank in this empire is the Starost; and from him, in the first instance, persons in the provinces who have suffered injury may seek redress. From his decision there lies an appeal to the Governor of the province, and from him to the College
of

of Justice in the capital. For the whole empire is divided into a certain number of governments; to each of these a particular college of justice is appropriated in St. Petersburg; and to those colleges causes may be appealed. From them too there lies an appeal to the Senate. Nor are the decisions of that court, though of a name so venerable, and though said to have both a legislative and judicative authority, considered as ultimate; for, as the Sovereign is regarded as the source of law and justice, there may be an appeal to the Throne, even from the decrees of the Senate. The Sovereign, however, not having leisure for attending to a multitude of private law-suits, delegates this department to Commissioners; and their decisions, or *Ucasses*, according to the term usually given them, are accounted final. All the judges are named by the Sovereign, and hold their places only during her pleasure.—In general, the administration of justice has been represented to me as very tedious, and liable to corruption. I have heard, indeed, that the Empress intends to alter the present system; and if so, it will certainly receive improvement. In truth, the Courts of Justice now mentioned, bear a greater resemblance

blance to a Court of Chancery * than to any thing else. The decisions of the judges are neither founded on general principles of equity, nor on established laws. They are founded chiefly on precedents and former decisions. This, as you will easily conceive, renders the issue of a law-suit very doubtful; and, indeed, it frequently happens, that precedents and former Cases may be perfectly applicable to the same cause; and yet in direct opposition to one another. In cases the most similar that can be thought of, contradictory decrees of different sovereigns, and sometimes even of the same sovereign, may be appealed to. Thus it is obvious, that, on the present footing, every thing depends on the will of the Judge.

Those persons who correspond to counsel or advocates in Britain, are very little respected in Russia. They receive no regular education in the study of law. And how should they, when there is none to study? They are usually such persons as may have been Judges' servants, or have had other opportunities of learning the forms of courts, and

* Blackstone;

and of being acquainted with precedents or Ucafes. Dexterity in the knowledge and application of these constitutes their highest merit. They never plead; but give their advice in the conduct of a law-suit; write the necessary papers; and either in public or private lay the facts before the judges. This last, indeed, may be considered as a species of pleading, since they may represent facts in such colours, as to influence both judgment and inclination. I have heard it surmised, however, by persons, I confess, of acrimony, but not without knowledge, and even experience, that the best service they usually render their clients, is to inform them by what means they may have easiest access to the good-will of the Judges. The most eminent counsel who practises here at present, had been a shop-keeper, and had involved himself in so many law-suits as to become bankrupt. But though he lost his fortune, he gained knowledge; and the same argumentative disposition that had ruined him as a merchant, advanced him at the bar.

Besides the courts above-mentioned, a general Court of Police is established in Russia, of

which the principal department remains at St. Petersburg. The chief objects of the Master of Police are, to keep order in the city; to prosecute for robbery and murder; to guard against fires; to keep the streets clean; to prevent or disperse riots; to superintend the Ishvosicks, who hire sledges or carioles in the streets; and to keep an exact account of the inhabitants. At one time a cause might be carried by appeal from this court to the Senate; at other times, its decisions were determined to be final. All these changes and varieties depend on the will of the Sovereign.

You questioned me in particular about the punishment of crimes in Russia, and seemed to applaud the plan pursued by the late, and continued by the present, Empress, of substituting slavery, hard labour, and corporal punishment, in place of death. The abolition, or suspension of capital punishments, is indeed a very plausible topic; it may soothe our sentiments of humanity, it may please in theory; but in practice it appears very inadequate. Robberies here are frequent and barbarous, and constantly attended with murder.

Criminals,

Criminals, I have heard, are prosecuted carelessly; and those who are punished with rigour, are treated with inhumanity. They suffer the knout; that is, they suffer dreadful scourging and dislocation; and though they are not formally put to death, many of them die of the cruel wounds they receive. I saw a crowd lately assembled in an open space in the city; I drew near; a scourge rose at intervals above the heads of the people; at intervals were heard the repeated strokes; and every stroke was followed by the low suppressed groan of extenuated anguish. After the appointed number of lashes were given in that place, the poor criminal had a piece of the coarsest canvass thrown over his naked and wounded body; and he was thus led to another quarter of the city, to have his torments not only renewed, but dreadfully increased by dislocation.

Those who survive such punishments are very seldom reformed; the disgrace and infamy they suffer, take away all respect for themselves, and regard for the opinion of others. On this subject I agree entirely with your favourite Greek Tragedian.

“ Χρηγ

“ Χρην δε ευθυς ειναι τηνδε τοις πασι δικην
 ’Οσ’ις περα πρασσειν των νομων θελει
 Κτεινειν. το γαρ πανουργον εκ αρ ην πολυ.”

“ ——— Were all like thee to perish
 Who violate the laws, ’twould lessen much
 The guilt of mortals, and reform mankind *”.

At any rate, the subjects at least of a free state, ought to be much on their guard how they suffer any such punishment to be substituted in place of capital punishment, as may reconcile the imaginations of the people to the possibility of their being happy, or of their enduring life in chains and bondage. They ought always to believe, nor in adopting such a creed, would they suffer any delusion, that slavery is a more miserable condition than death. I have felt less horror in seeing malefactors hanging in gibbets on Bagshot or Hounslow-heath, than in seeing men, beings of my own species, endowed with

* The elegant translator of Sophocles does not appear to me to have translated this striking passage with his usual spirit. Perhaps the Latin version may convey more strongly the Poet’s meaning.

“ Deceret autem omnes illico has pœnas dare
 Quicunque contra leges quidvis agere studet
 Ut necaretur. Sic scelera minus crebra forent.”

reason

reason and a sense of justice, doomed to hard labour all the days of their lives, bent down with oppression, having their faces inscribed with misery, and their limbs rattling with chains. Crimes are not to be punished by the severest pains we are capable of inflicting: and I hope the natives of Britain will consider chains and bondage, in the face of the public, as a punishment no less barbarous to the mind, than torture to the body. In another view, the effects of such punishments on the minds of a free people must be pernicious; and I should be afraid lest their enduring them for any length of time, were a fatal symptom that their zeal for liberty was waxing cold. There is much thought and penetration in the following sentiment, ascribed by Tacitus to Galgacus, in his celebrated speech before his battle with Agricola:—

“ Priores pugnæ, quibus adversus Romanos
“ varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac sub-
“ dium in nostris manibus habebant; quia
“ nobilissimi totius Britannix, eoque in ipsis
“ penetralibus siti, nec servantium littora
“ aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu domina-
“ tionis inviolatis habebamus.”——“ All the
“ the battles, which have yet been fought
“ with

“ with various successes against the Romans,
“ had their resources of hope and aid in our
“ hands; for we, the noblest inhabitants of
“ Britain, and therefore stationed in its
“ deepest recesses, far from the view of servile
“ shores, have preserved even our eyes un-
“ polluted by the contact of subjection*.”

Little provision is made in this country for prisoners: and a poor wretch, without friends or money, confined in a Russian jail, runs some hazard of starving. I have sometimes visited those mansions of misery: and if famine, chains, nakedness, and filth, are shocking, the scenes I beheld were shocking.

On reading over what I have written, it seems to me that I might have given you a more complete account of the administration of justice in Russia, by telling you what they have not, instead of what they have. Suffice it to say then, that they have no trials by jury, and no Habeas Corpus Act. A person accused of crimes may be kept in prison for ever; or if he is brought to a trial, he is not tried by his Peers. In other respects, causes

* Aitkin.

need not be numerous and complex. The peasants who are themselves slaves, will probably have no law-suits. The nobility, merchants, and foreigners alone can have any employment for courts of justice. Adieu.

P. S. If the Empress should really engage, as I believe she intends at present, in the laborious work of amending the method of administering justice in Russia, several passages in her instructions to the commissioners appointed to frame a new code of laws, and the following, in particular, promise not only changes, but considerable improvements :

“ No man ought to be looked upon as
 “ guilty, before he has received his judicial
 “ sentence; nor can the laws deprive him of
 “ their protection, before it is proved that he
 “ has forfeited all right to it. What right,
 “ therefore, can power give to any to inflict
 “ punishment upon a citizen, at a time when
 “ it is yet dubious whether he is innocent or
 “ guilty? Whether the crime be known or
 “ unknown, it is not very difficult to gain a
 “ thorough knowledge of the affair, by duly
 “ weighing all the circumstances. If the
 “ crime

“ be known, the criminal ought not to suffer
“ any punishment but what the law ordains;
“ consequently the *rack* is quite unnecessary.
“ If the crime be not known, the rack ought
“ not to be applied to the party accused; for
“ this reason, that the innocent ought not to be
“ tortured; and, in the eye of the law, every
“ person is innocent whose crime is not yet
“ proved. It is undoubtedly extremely ne-
“ cessary, that no crime, after it has been
“ proved, should remain unpunished. The
“ party accused on the rack, whilst in the
“ agonies of torture, is not master enough of
“ himself to be able to declare the truth, &c.”

LETTER XXXIII.

Reflections on the Effects of Despotism.

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, Oct. 1st, 1770.

YOU say I will have much pleasure in contemplating the manners and political constitution of a people so different from the natives of Britain. I cannot altogether agree with you. No doubt there is some pleasure in what Lucretius says,—“*suave mari magno, &c.*” There is some satisfaction in recollecting, that while other nations groan under the yoke of bondage, the natives of our happy islands enjoy more real freedom than any nation that does now, or ever did, exist. In other respects, it is no very pleasing exercise to witness the depression and sufferings of the human race; to contemplate the miseries and manners of slaves! Poor abject slaves! who are not allowed the rights of men—hardly those of irrational creatures! who must toil,

undergo hardships, and suffer the most grievous suffering, to gratify the desires, or humour the caprice of some oppressive master ! Judge of their condition.—From the hour of their birth they are in the power of a rapacious chief, who may sell, scourge, or employ them in any labour he pleases. They have no property—no home—nothing that their proud superior may not seize, and claim as his own. The horse and the bull may chuse their loves, according to their own inclination ; a privilege not allowed to the Russians. They no sooner arrive at the age of puberty, than they are often compelled to marry whatsoever female their proprietor chuses, in order, by a continued progeny of slaves, to preserve or augment his revenue. In such families, no conjugal happiness,—no paternal or filial affection can ever exist. Where the husband and wife hate each other, or are indifferent, there can be little fidelity ; the husband takes little care of the child ; the mother is not always affectionate ; the poor guiltless infant is thus neglected ; Nature defeats the purposes of avarice, and a great proportion of their children die in their nonage. Those that survive

survive become little better than savage. In their early years, no tender affection softened or humanized their hearts; none can grow up in an after period; they receive no prejudices or opinions favourable to mankind; and they enter into life as into a den of tygers. The guile, the baseness, and rugged ferocity attributed to slaves, and men overwhelmed with oppression, are chiefly owing to their oppressors. Exposed to the avarice and pride of some haughty superior, who is himself a slave, and who has not in his breast one sentiment of humanity, they have no other defence against oppression but deceit; and feel no other emotion from the treatment they receive, but hatred and deep revenge. It is thus, in accustoming the mind to vicious habits, more than in merely depriving us of our property, and the security of our persons, that despotism is the bane of society. Those poor unhappy men, who are bought and sold, who are beaten, loaded with fetters, and valued no higher than a dog, treated with unabating rigour, become inhuman; insulted with unremitting contempt, become base; and for ever afraid of rapacious injustice, they grow deceitful.

— “ Chill’d by unkindly blights,
 “ Their opening virtues languish and decay.
 “ Their features lose the liberal air of truth
 “ And open candour. Dark suspicion clouds
 “ Their low’ring visage; and deceit perverts
 “ Their fault’ring speech. When pride and avarice
 warp
 “ Th’ oppressor’s heart; bar his relentless ear
 “ Against the prayer of pity; and erase
 “ The sense of merit from his dark’ned soul:
 “ What shield can weakness to his rav’nous grasp
 “ Oppose, but dastard guile? Can those who groan
 “ Beneath th’ inhuman task, whose rueful pangs,
 “ Unpitied, unreliev’d, breed lasting hate,
 “ And thirst of vengeance in the soul indulge
 “ Tender emotions, and the glowing heart?
 “ O ye! who roll the eye of fierce disdain,
 “ Impute not to the trembling, tortur’d slave,
 “ Condemn’d by partial fortune to endure
 “ The stripes of av’rice, and the scorn of pride,
 “ Impute not guile, or an unfeeling breast.
 “ Ye teach him feelings! your insatiate rage
 “ His hate exasperates, and inflames his heart
 “ With rancour and unusual wrath. ’Twas thus
 “ Th’ Iberian *humaniz’d* the guiltless tribes
 “ Who roam’d Peruvian forests, and the banks
 “ Of Orellane, what time, convuls’d and torn
 “ With agony, the tortur’d fires bequeath’d
 “ Resentment to their sons! ’Twas then their hearts
 “ Throbb’d with new horror; with unwonted ire
 “ The wild eye reddens, and the virtues fled!
 “ The gentle virtues! In their stead arose
 “ Dismay, the counsellor of dastard deeds,
 “ Revenge

“ Revenge and ruthless hatred. Then were heard
“ Wailing and weeping; howl'd the desert caves;
“ And Nature from the roaring torrent sigh'd.”——

“ Facit indignatio versum.” Those lines were suggested by the scenes of oppression I too often behold. I have introduced them into a short poem lately published in Britain; and intended, in so far as my voice could be heard, to interest my countrymen in behalf of the Corsicans. I suspect, however, that at present, not many of my countrymen feel themselves much concerned in such a cause.

* * * * *

LETTER XXXIV.

National Character of the Russians.

DEAR SIR,

IN so far as my own observation reaches, every thing I see, and every thing I hear from such authority as I can trust, confirms me in the opinion I formerly expressed to you concerning the national character of the Russians. They have certainly more sensibility than firmness. They have lively feelings; but having seldom employed their reason in forming general rules of conduct for the commerce of life, their actions, as flowing from variable and shifting emotions, are desultory, and even inconsistent.

I have heard, for instance, that, in confidential conversation, they sometimes indulge themselves in severe or indignant expressions against the present administration of public affairs.—“ That they should always be governed by women, or foreigners, or by foreigners exalted they not how, or by persons

“ sons of no original eminence, men of yesterday, and who have arisen to dignity by their guilt or base compliances,”—are, on such occasions, the usual topics of their discontent. They work themselves into what they conceive virtuous indignation, or patriotic resentment. They even talk of changes and revolutions: “ Things,” they will say, “ that have happened once, may happen again;” and thus the fervour of their emotion, exhausted in the expression, abates. Other feelings arise, and suggest other convictions.—“ The present administration has been successful; laurels have been obtained; public measures are conducted with spirit and wisdom; they themselves enjoy security; not only so, perhaps they enjoy fortune and honours; how wrong then would it be in them to wish for change; how ungrateful! how guilty! even of treason! they deserve punishment! perhaps it may come upon them! their associates may think as they do! may feel indignation! or fear for themselves! the danger is urgent, and must be prevented.” Hurried by this new set of feelings, they repent, confess, and, from the deep sense they

have of their trespasss, betray their friends. On account of this extreme sensibility, unsubdued or ungoverned by reason, it is scarcely probable that the Russians themselves, how much soever they may occasionally express resentment, indignation, or love of liberty, as I have heard some of them do with more violence than any liberty-boy of Brentford, unless some dextrous, insinuating, and steady foreigner take advantage of their temporary transports, shall ever accomplish any great revolution. The chief rulers have penetration enough to discern this defect of character; and though they may be often informed of treasonable speeches, they are nevertheless very much at their ease. At the same time, this feature, in the national character of the Russians, shews how necessary it is for their Sovereigns, without incurring the *blame of improper suspicion*, to be watchful over their proceedings, and well acquainted with their secret designs*.

I really believe, that the inconstancy, the deviations from truth, and even perfidy, with which the Russians are sometimes charged,

* See Letter XVII.

are not so much the effects of determined vice, as of irregular feeling. They may appear wicked, not because they act from perverted principles, but because they have no permanent principles. They never could say to themselves, "*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*," because whatsoever they do, or even perpetrate, they think they are acting aright; and as they seldom look back on the past, or anticipate the future, they derive little advantage in the culture of their moral principles from experience. They are bearded children; the creatures of the present hour; they will express the most ardent affection in the most ardent language; they will express the most furious rage in the most vindictive terms. But as you need not lay great stress on the advantages to be reaped from their friendship, so you need not be greatly afraid of their inveterate or latent enmity. In moments of extreme good humour, a Russian will make ample promises; he is quite sincere; his feelings at the time interest him in your favour; but those feelings subside; other interests engage his heart; he never meant to deceive you; but his promises are not fulfilled. If you seem

anxious about any fact, and if the matter is not exactly as you wish it to be, your Russian friend enters warmly into your wishes; he would not add to your anxiety, but he knows that the fact is not exactly as you conceive; he sees in it, however, some circumstances corresponding to your desire; these he selects; he is loth to tell you a harsh truth; and if he does not tell you a pleasing fiction, he at least lulls your disquietude. Rigid virtue may call this double-dealing; but the Russian neither intends deceit, nor thinks his conduct deceitful. In like manner you may sometimes see persons of the highest rank, even before strangers, engage in violent disputes, particularly if they are playing at cards or billiards; and treat one another at least with impetuosity. Their own language, though they may have been speaking French or German before, becomes, on these occasions, the vehicle of their prayers and wishes; and its habits of phraseology seem better suited, than those of the western languages, for such *pure* and *respectful* intercourse. In a few minutes after they are as calm as if nothing had happened, and seem to love one another the more for this transient

sient ebullition. Persons of such irregular sensibility are occasionally very brave, or very dastardly; and so are the Russians. Sometimes the slightest danger appalls them; and sometimes you would imagine that they were incapable of fear, or had no sense of danger. This tendency is corrected in their army by the strictest discipline. It is perfectly consistent with this account, that slight enjoyments should raise them to the summit of happiness; and that slight losses, or disappointments, should cast them down in despair. Accordingly, their happiness displays itself in appearances of infantine levity; and their despondency often terminates in suicide. The immediate view of punishment, or the prospect of evil striking their senses, may restrain their emotions; but, removed at a distance, or out of sight, it is of little power. One of their principal dramatic Poets, and he has indeed a great deal of genius, besides the impetuosity and eagerness entailed upon him by his profession, has also to contend with the precipitancy and irregular sensibility so common among his countrymen. The Governor of Moscow, where he usually resides, ordered
one

one of his tragedies to be represented. The Poet was certainly honoured by this mark of attention; and the Governor really intended to do him honour; nor was there any thing that could reasonably be objected to the representation. But the Poet had been taken in a wayward humour. He opposed the representation with indecent violence, and treated the Governor with rude disrespect. The Empress, whom nothing escapes, was informed of it; but respecting the genius of the Poet, while she rebuked the folly of the Russian, she wrote him with tempered severity, and told him, "That though she was much
" pleased with his imitations of passion, she
" could not bear the reality."

Persons of the character now mentioned, are often fluent in speech, and eloquent in expression. They are also apt to be influenced by the powers of eloquence. Full of sensibility, they enter easily into the feelings of others. Such are the Russians.— Walking one day along the Galerinhoff, at a time when, by the removal of a bridge of boats, the communication between that street and an opposite island was interrupted, I saw
a Russian

a Russian, rather better dressed than a common peasant, putting some cows into a boat, intending to have them carried to the other side. He had just, with much difficulty, and the assistance of two or three boatmen, got them in, when a petty officer, with some soldiers, arrived at the place, and seemed also in great haste to get across the river. There was no other boat; so, with a tone of great authority, he ordered the grazier, or cowherd, or whatever he was, to take out his cattle, and let him have immediate conveyance. The Russian was loth; the officer insisted; the Russian argued; the officer grew angry; the Russian still hesitated; and a soldier, to gratify the wrath of his superior, jumped into the boat, gave the man a blow, and struck off his cap. The Russian in an instant, and you would say by involuntary impulse, put himself into one of the finest attitudes I ever saw. He wore a long garment, fastened about his body with a girdle; his forehead was high and bald; his hair on the hinder part of his head was short and grey; his beard long; his features well formed; and his aspect, notwithstanding the insult he had met with, did not seem discomposed; he
lifted

lifted up his hands; he pled with humble submission; he then rose in remonstrative tones; he then spoke to excite compassion; and, at length, poured out a torrent of irresistible vehemence; every change in his address was followed by corresponding changes in the countenance and air of the officer, to whom it was addressed. Till, at length, quite subdued, he turned to him who had given the blow, and beat him in the most furious manner. The orator, in the mean time, lifted his cap, put it on with an air of triumph; and bowing once or twice to the officer, while he was administering chastisement to the soldier, rowed off immediately with his cattle.—That Russians of all ranks are fond of music, is no less consistent with the foregoing account, than their powers and susceptibility of eloquence.

In a word, the defects in the national character of the Russians, seem to me to arise chiefly from want of culture. Were they taught to reflect on the past, and anticipate the future, they would be led to form maxims and general rules for the direction of their conduct*. Reason would then be listened to;

* See Letter LIV.

and their moral principles would recover their authority. But they will never either reflect or anticipate, till they are moved to those exercises by some prevailing interest; nor can they ever have any such interest, till they have entire security for their persons and possessions. How is this to be done? It is an important problem; and great and immortal would be the glory of that sovereign who would really desire to understand the solution. Immortal would be the glory of that sovereign who would restore above twenty millions of men to the rights of intelligent and rational beings. But is this achievement to be performed by one person, and at once? I believe not. It must be the work of time; and must be carried on by successive changes. To give liberty at once to twenty millions of slaves, would be to let loose on mankind so many robbers and spoilers. Before slaves can receive freedom in full possession, they must be taught to know, relish, and use its blessings. This, however, is to be done gradually; and if it is to be done according to a regular plan, those who have such things in their power, must observe the growth of freedom in those places where it arose spontaneous,

neous, and without any previous purpose.— Perhaps, if a despot intended to lay the foundation of a design so magnificent, it would be proper to begin with giving great privileges to commercial and manufacturing towns. It would also be proper to restore their rights to such provinces as might formerly have enjoyed some freedom; and of which they might still entertain some fond recollection. I am the more inclined to express these opinions, as some of the Russians, and particularly those in the vicinity of Archangel, who, I have heard, enjoy greater privileges than their brethren, are usually represented as honest, able and industrious and, indeed, of a character very different from the rest.

But I quit such Utopian speculations; and will only express my wishes, that the small portion of the human race who enjoy real freedom, may preserve and make a proper use of it. Adieu.

LETTER XXXV.

With some Verses.

DEAR SIR,

O&S. 10th, 1770.

THE Banks of the Neva are indeed very fine, the islands delightful, and the woods fragrant; but they are silent. Not a thrush, linnet, or goldfinch have I seen in Russia. People tell me, however, that the fault is my own; and that if I were in the country early enough in the season, I might both see and hear them. They even pretend that they have nightingales. One nightingale indeed I saw, heard, and admired. But it came from Astracan. It belonged to a lady; and, unable to endure the approach of winter, some weeks ago it died. "Alas!" you will say, "Poor Nightingale!" And you have more reason to regret its death than you are perhaps aware of; for, instead of getting a letter full of news about Turks and Russians, and of hearing how the Ottoman

I

empire

empire is shaken to the very centre, you are to have a poem on the death of a bird. In blank verse too ! It cannot be helped ; and all you can have, by way of compensation, is to amuse yourself with remarking, how whimsically we may be affected by the various events and incidents that happen under the sun. A small bird, hatched near the Caspian, and buried in an isle in the Neva, shall almost dispose you, who are sitting in a neat parlour, in a trim mansion on the border of Windsor forest, to frown !

*Verses on the Death of a Nightingale, written
in the Isle of Caminiostrow.*

MELODIOUS warbler ! Lucia lov'd thee,
charm'd

With thine enchanting wild note : and I ween
Her gentle manners, that in every breast
Kindle affection and esteem, in thee
Kindled affection ; and the strong desire
To imitate, to seize, and to transfuse
Into thy song-like sweetness. And thy voice
Obey'd thee ; tuneful in thy native groves,
Where Volga rolls his mighty flood, and laves
The realm of Astracan ; more tuneful now,
Even

Even in a northern clime, and in the isles
Of Ingrian Neva. Not the mournful plaint
Of that Hesperian Nightingale, that charm'd
The soul of Maro, when his raptur'd muse
Beheld the Thracian Poet, by the stream
Of Hebrus, wailing, with incessant woe,
His lost Eurydice : Nor even the song,
That fill'd with extasy th' impassion'd mind
Of Milton, when, beneath the moonlight pale,
All by the margin of his native Thames,
He held high converse with th' inspiring
Powers

That dealt him minstrelsy divine—could e'er
Thy melody surpass. The gentle gales
Children of Summer, born in Tempé, heard
Thy songs expressive ; and, with fond delay,
Linger'd amid the northern sky, beyond
The time allow'd them, shedding fragrant
flowers,

And mildness unpermitted.—
Boreas beheld, as on a snowy cliff,
Shining with thousands of reflected rays,
Azure, and green, and crimson, he reclin'd,
Wrap'd in a robe rough with effulgent frost,
Viewing his vast domain, from Zembla south
To the chaff'd billows of the Caspian main.
Boreas beheld ! “ And shall these wanton gales

S

“ Longer

" Longer insult me ? Shall a warbling note,
" Or the weak native of a southern clime,
" Even by my throne, with arrogant delay,
" Detain them ? He shall perish." sternly
fierce

He spake ; and instant sent a rapid blast,
Arm'd with an icy shaft, and in a shower
Of snow envelop'd. Howling how he flew
Across the dark'ning Ladago ! The flowers
Wither'd before him : and at evening hour,
He gain'd the border of our isle. O then
Thy melting voice, sweet Nightingale ! was
lost :

(gales
Thy Lucia mourn'd ; the muses mourn'd ; the
Of summer fled reluctant ; on thy grave
Sighing full fore, and scatt'ring as they flew
Decaying blooms, sad relics of their woe.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

*Account of Goods exported from St. Petersburg
in 1769.*

St. Petersburg, Nov. 7th, 1770.

* * * * * **T**HE iron in Siberia is wrought at little expence: the places where it is found are by the sides of large rivers. Provisions are cheap: a sheep may be bought for thirty copics *, and the rivers are stored with excellent fish. Wood for working the iron is found every where in the greatest abundance. Not only so, but the soil in the southern and eastern parts of Russia is very fertile. The Ukraine alone, with no other labour than that of plowing, could supply the whole of European Russia with corn. The empire, besides its vicinity to the Caspian, Euxine, Baltic, and Northern Seas, is interspersed with lakes, and intersected by

* 1 s. 3 d.

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navigable

navigable rivers; these might easily, by means of canals, be made to communicate with one another. Nor is even land-carriage interrupted, or rendered difficult here, as in many other places, by fens and mountains. The natural advantages of Russia, therefore, might render it one of the richest countries in Europe.

Accordingly, even in its present infant state of improvement, the balance of trade has been, of late years, more unfavourable to Britain than formerly. Many such manufactures as were imported by English traders, some time ago, and sold here with large profits, are now wrought in the country. Formerly the coarse cloth, with which the army is clothed, was brought from England; it is now wrought in Russia. Pewter also was a profitable commodity; but pewter dishes, with earthen ware, and even china, may be had here very good, and manufactured in the country. The silk manufacture at Moscow is in a thriving condition; and Russian linen and diaper are sold in Britain.

You will receive, however, a more distinct notion of the commerce of this empire from the following

*Account of Goods exported from St. Petersburg in 1769,
by 326 English Ships, and 247 of other Nations.*

Quality of Goods.	Quantity.	First Cost.
Iron — —	Pood 2,409,487	Rubles 1,686,710 : 90
Clean Hemp — —	1,129,400	1,548,220
Outshot Ditto — —	168,691	185,560 : 10
Half clean Ditto — —	92,258	92,258
Hemp Codille — —	113,132	45,332 : 80
Flax, 12 headed — —	104,497	195,931 : 87
Ditto, 9 ditto — —	39,891	62,833 : 5
Ditto, 6 ditto — —	10,205	13,011 : 37
Ditto Codille — —	14,765	66,44 : 25
Hides — —	144,612	83,749 : 60
Bristles, 1st and 2d sort	13,761	82,566
Isinglass — —	4,114	82,798
Soap and Candle Tallow	262,640	630,336
Soap — —	12,801	19,201 : 5
Hemp Oil — —	92,403	110,883 : 60
Train Oil — —	9,388	11,265 : 60
Lintseed Oil — —	3,243	2,113 : 10
Wax — —	814	8,750 : 50
Horse Hair — —	3,188	5,718 : 40
Horse Tails — —	30,547	3,054 : 80
Cow Hair — —	180	900
Tallow Candles — —	9,096	30,016 : 80
Caviar — —	5,484	13,710
Wax Candles — —	41	541 : 20
Cordage — —	6,688	14,703 : 60
Hops — —	467	1,214 : 20
Tobacco — —	4,581	4,122 : 90
Seal Leather — —	6,334	31,670
Copper — —	4,020	29,115
Pitch — —	8,392	10,070 : 40
Tar — —	1,658	1,989 : 60
Resin — —	1,475	1,475
Caraway Seed — —	162	194 : 40
Anise Seed — —	3	3 : 30
Broad Diaper — —	Arshen 431,616	36,687 : 36
Narrow Ditto — —	458,070	22,903 : 50
Broad Linen — —	261,077	22,353 : 5
Narrow Linen — —	1,695,668	76,305 : 6
Sundry sorts Linen	135,134	9,487 : 38
Cloth — —	873,776	20,213 : 28
Drills — —	Pieces 6,583	19,749
Fleets — —	11,601	75,606
Raven Duck — —	43,406	173,624
Sail Cloth — —	33,335	200,010

Account of Goods, &c. continued.

Quality of Goods.	Quantity.		First Cost.
Hare Skins — —	Pieces	297,318	Rubles 47,600
Squirrel Skins — —		47,500	3,562 : 50
Bear Skins — —		483	2,173 : 50
Fox Skins — —		428	513 : 60
Lynx Skins — —		28	224
Ermine — —	Tun	15	210
Feathers — —	Pood	375	1,420
Down — —		132	1,348
Gunpowder — —		60	360
Rhubarb — —		1	65
Matts — —	Pieces	62	6,200
Deals — —	Dozen	85,375	123,319 : 44
Matts — —	Pieces	4,600	184
Wheat — —	Chetwerts	29,100	116,400
Ox Bones — —	Pieces	27,000	300
Old Iron — —	Pood	2,450	1,470
			Rubles 6,964,504 : 6

N. B. 1 Bergeuitz is 10 Pood.

1 Pood is 40 Pound,—run equal to $35\frac{1}{2}$ Pound English.

1 Arfteen is 18 Inches English.

$7\frac{1}{2}$ Chetwerts, corn measure, make a Tun.

LETTER XXXVII.

With an Account of the Abdication of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, in the Year 1730.

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, 1770.

I FLATTER myself that the inclosed account of the Abdication of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, who resigned his sceptre in the year 1730, will afford you some amusement. He is not the only Prince recorded in history, who exchanged the pomp and cares of royalty for the obscurity or the peace of retirement. But though several, before the present century, have presented this curious spectacle to mankind, we cannot boast of being fully acquainted with their motives or expectations. A crown has so many charms, that the state of mind which could induce a Sovereign Prince to resign his dignity, and his subsequent conduct or deportment, are, to those who would observe human nature, ob-

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jects

jects of great curiosity. The following account pretends to give a full view of the motives that urged his Sardinian Majesty in *his* abdication, and of his conduct in his retirement. Nor would I have offered it to your perusal, if I did not believe the intelligence it conveys authentic. It was written originally in Italian, and as I know not of its having been ever published in Britain*, either in the original, or in any other language, I hope the perusal of the following English † translation will afford you some entertainment.

You will recollect, that Pope Paul III. created his natural son, Peter Lewis Farnese, Duke of Parma,—that the sovereignty of the Parmesan remained in the Farnese family till the year 1731,—that as the failure of the the male line seemed inevitable, it had been agreed upon that Don Carlos, son to the Queen of Spain, who was descended of the Farnese family, should succeed to that dukedom; but not without receiving it from Charles Emperor of Germany as a fief of the Empire,—that this settlement was determined

* Yet a French translation of this little tract may be met with in many places on the Continent.

† By an ingenious friend.

by a treaty between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, ratified at Vienna in the year 1725,—that by the treaty of Seville, ratified in the year 1729, Great Britain engaged to assist the Spaniards in bringing six thousand Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma,—and, lastly, that the Emperor, jealous or apprehensive of the power of Spain, notwithstanding the treaty of Vienna, was determined to oppose the entry of those troops into Italy. Keeping those previous events in view, you will enter easily into the following detail.

THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY having formed the resolution of opposing, by the most vigorous exertions, the entry of six thousand Spaniards into Italy; having, for that purpose, sent a considerable army into Tuscany and the Parmesan; and having engaged the Grand Duke of Florence on his side, was sensible it would be of the greatest advantage to his affairs, also to engage in his interests the King of Sardinia. With this view he signified to that Prince, by the Governor of Milan, that if he would unite with him, he would furnish him, in case of necessity, with an army of 12,000 men, consisting of 8,000
foot

foot and 4,000 horse, to act in concert with the Germans; that he would appoint him Governor of the Milanese for life; and to enable him to hold his troops in readiness to march on the shortest notice, that he would pay down to him immediately 300,000 phillips. Amadeus accepted of these conditions; and the Emperor ordered the money to be paid, providing that he should refund it, if he had no occasion for the 12,000 men. This treaty was concluded and signed at Milan by the Ambassadors of the Emperor and those of his Sardinian Majesty, in the month of June, A. D. 1736.

Some time after this the Spanish Ambassador, then at Genoa, visited the Court of Turin *incognito*; and, in a private audience with the King of Sardinia, offered him, on the part of the King his master, the cities of Novare and Pavia, together with several adjacent territories beyond the Tessin, which now constitute a part of the Dukedom of Milan, and belong to the Emperor, on condition that he would join him to expel the Imperialists out of Italy, unless they would allow Don Carlos the unmolested possession of the Parmesan. Vic-
tor

tor not only regarded these offers of Spain as much more advantageous than those of the Imperial court, but also believed that England and France had entered into a resolution to co-operate with the Spaniards in driving the forces of the Emperor out of Italy. He therefore willingly accepted of them, and promised to assist Don Carlos with his army against the Germans.

Notwithstanding the great precautions which he had used to conceal this new and perfidious alliance into which he had entered, the Emperor's emissaries entertained some suspicions of the truth; they communicated them to their master; and he, of consequence, gave immediate orders to the Governor of Milan, to threaten Victor with the heaviest effects of his vengeance. That Prince excused himself as well as he could, by denying the charge. But when he was afterwards informed, by his Ambassador at Vienna, that the Aulic Council seemed disposed to enter into the measures of the Allies of Seville, he was filled with terror and consternation, from the apprehension that those two powers would undoubtedly take such signal vengeance on

his perfidy, as would prove equally ruinous to his interests, and disgraceful to himself.

Victor, thus agitated by a thousand different emotions, and at a loss how to recover the false step he had taken, resolved at length to divest himself of the sovereignty, till his affairs should assume a more favourable aspect. He hoped that he might thus shelter himself from the storm which was ready to burst over his head, and that a pretended abdication of the Crown, by extricating him from those embarrassing engagements, would tend to silence the clamour that might be raised against him. This measure, indeed, was not agreeable to the maxims of Machiavel, whom this Prince had hitherto followed with scrupulous exactness. He flattered himself, however, with hopes of success; and trusted to the implicit submission of his son, together with the affectionate attachment of his subjects. But we shall see, in the sequel, how widely he was mistaken.

Previous to the execution of his scheme, he judged it proper, by communicating some part of his designs to the Prince of Piedmont, to
prepare

prepare him for this important event. With this view, for two months before his abdication of the crown, he retired with him daily into a private apartment, and addressed him in such terms as these:—" My dear Son, " I am not yet so much sunk under the infirmities incident to old age, as I am oppressed by the anxious cares that attend on sovereignty. I am therefore disposed to retire for some time from public affairs, in order to unbend my mind, and to commit the reins of government to your hands. The burthen, my Son, is indeed heavy, and my fears are great, lest, at such an age, you should prove unequal to its weight. Your experience in affairs of state is small; for you know that I have hitherto avoided to initiate you in the mysteries of politics, or to trust to any one the management of the state. I have hitherto governed my subjects without the aid of any minister. But this is an art to be attained only by long experience. It is therefore absolutely necessary, my dear Son, that you should, in the beginning of your reign, have some sage Mentor, to direct your proceedings, and enable you to maintain, or
" even

“ even increase that authority with which I
“ am now about to invest you. But as it is
“ very dangerous for a Prince, in early life,
“ to repose unlimited confidence in any indi-
“ vidual of his subjects, I have resolved, un-
“ til you are qualified to govern alone, that I
“ myself shall discharge the duty of your di-
“ rector. On these terms, my Son, I have
“ resolved to surrender to you my crown ;
“ consider them, and inform me whether
“ they be suited to your inclinations.”

The Prince of Piedmont replied with the most profound respect, “ That his Majesty
“ might do what seemed to him meet ; and
“ that while he enjoyed that life which
“ he derived from him, he might remain
“ assured of his submission and fidelity ; that,
“ whether his Majesty chose to divest him-
“ self of his royal authority or not, he would
“ ever esteem it his indispensable duty to
“ yield the most entire obedience to his will.
“ In one word, he promised that, whatever
“ events should take place, he should always
“ respect him as his Father and his Sove-
“ reign.” This declaration, often repeated
by a young Prince, hitherto a stranger to
the

the arts of dissimulation, gave the most entire satisfaction to the King; and he resolved to delay no longer the execution of a scheme from which he expected, at the same time, to derive both tranquillity and honour.

He therefore issued an order on the second of September 1730, to the Princes of the Blood, the Knights of the Order of the Annunciation, the Ministers and Secretaries of State, the Archbishop of Turin, the Grand Chancellor, the first Presidents, the Generals of the army, and all those who held the chief offices at court, to assemble on the morrow, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at the Castle of Rivole. There, after having summoned a Council of State, he declared, that he made a general abdication of his kingdom, and of all his dominions, in favour of his son Charles Emmanuel, Prince of Piedmont. Then, having ordered all those who had come from Turin, in obedience to his commands, to be admitted, the Marquis del Borgo, Secretary of State, read the Act of Abdication with a loud voice, after which his Majesty addressed the assembly in a very pathetic discourse, to the following purpose:

“ The

“ The innumerable troubles and toils
“ which I have undergone, without inter-
“ mission, during a reign of fifty years,
“ without mentioning the infirmities to which
“ all men are liable, and the age to which I
“ have attained, would have been more than
“ enough to render the burthen of govern-
“ ment heavy and intolerable to me. Be-
“ sides, as my end is now drawing nigh, and
“ as I begin to regard death as the common
“ lot of sovereigns and of their subjects, I
“ consider myself as bound, by the most sa-
“ cred obligations, to interpose some space
“ between the throne and the grave. These
“ motives have been powerful enough to lead
“ me to that measure which I have this day
“ adopted; and, especially, as Providence
“ seems to favour my intentions, by bestow-
“ ing upon me a son worthy of succeeding
“ me, and of governing my people; a son
“ endowed with all those qualities that adorn
“ a deserving Prince. I have therefore re-
“ solved, without hesitation, to transfer to
“ him, by a solemn act, signed this day with
“ my own hand, the supreme authority over
“ all my dominions, and am resolved to pass
“ the remainder of my days at a distance
“ from

“ from affairs of state. I exhort you, therefore, to serve the King, my well-beloved son, with the same inviolable fidelity which ye have ever demonstrated towards myself; assuring you, at the same time, that I have earnestly recommended you to his royal favour.”

King Amadeus, upon his abdication, had recommended it to his son to cause all the estates of his nobility and gentry to be surveyed, and to proportion their taxes to the extent of their possessions. Had this measure been carried into execution, it would indeed have augmented the revenues of the crown, but it would have ruined the nobility. When Charles ascended the throne, he found it improper to adopt it. This gave great offence to the abdicated Monarch; he wrote his son on the subject, more in the style of a master than of a father; and when he found that his son still persisted in neglecting his remonstrances, he formed the resolution of resuming the sovereignty.

Amadeus had reserved for himself a yearly pension of 50,000 crowns, and retained only

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a few

a few domestics about his person. He had made choice of the castle of Chamberry for the place of his residence; to which he repaired a few days after his abdication, being then in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and a widower since the 26th of August 1728. He had left a mistress in Piedmont, who was known by the title of the Countess of St. Sebastian; and as this lady performs a very conspicuous part in the sequel of this story, it will not be foreign to our purpose to mention, in this place, the outlines of her life and character.

Her maiden name was Mademoiselle de Cumiane. While yet only fifteen years of age, she was a maid of honour to the Queen Dowager, the mother of Amadeus. This Prince, who was then only in his thirtieth year, took more delight in the gay conversation of the ladies of his mother's court, than in canvassing with his ministers the difficult affairs of state; and such amusement was the more agreeable to him, that the Queen*,

* She had been educated at the Court of France, being the daughter of the Duke de Nemours, who was killed in a duel by the Duke de Beaufort, which was the occasion of Lewis XIV. prohibiting duels on pain of death.

who

who was no less addicted to gaiety than himself, admitted those only into her train who were remarkable for their beauty. Thus the Prince, and the young lords of his court, enjoying the pleasures of variety, never experienced disgust. At length, however, Amadeus, fixing his affections on Mademoiselle de Cumiane, loaded her with extraordinary favours, so that, in a short time, she became distinguished from all her fair companions, by an unseemly change in her shape. In order to remove this deformity, the Queen Dowager, who was a faithful confidant to her son, as well as an affectionate mother, gave her immediately in marriage to the Count de St. Sebastian, her *Premier Ecuyer*, who esteemed himself highly honoured in being admitted into such an intimate connection with his Sovereign. The Countess his wife was made one of the Queen's *Dames d'Honneur*; and notwithstanding her marriage, was often honoured by the assiduities of the King. Sometimes, however, when any new intrigue intervened, these attentions were interrupted. But even when the Countess no longer possessed the King's affections, she had the address so effectually to secure his friendship and

esteem, that she still maintained her influence over him; and when she was left a widow in A. D. 1723, the King undertook the care of her children, and attended to them as particularly as if they had been his own. He at the same time appointed her an apartment in the palace, which communicated with his own, and enabled him to visit her as familiarly as he desired, without observation or scandal. He afterwards named her one of the ladies in the train of the Princess of Piedmont.

Such had been the fortunes of the Countess de St. Sebastian, till the abdication of Amadeus. As soon as she received information of this event, being naturally ambitious, and well versed in intrigue, she immediately went in quest of Father Audormiglia, Abbot of a Monastery of Feuillants, and Confessor in Ordinary to King Amadeus, and of Dr. Boggio, Curate of St. John's, his Spiritual Director. She suggested to them, that the King, in order to make reparation for the injury which he had done her and her family, had, since the death of the Queen, frequently promised to conclude with her a private marriage; and that, now having abdicated the throne,

throne, he ought not any longer to delay the performance of his promise ; for, having thus descended to a level with private persons, he could, with less difficulty, fulfil the duty of a Christian, and of a man of honour. She then promised those two ecclesiastics, that if, by their means, she became the wife of that Prince, she would employ all her interest with her husband, in order to promote them to the chief dignities of the church. Engaged by these promises, as well as by the pleasing and insinuating address of the Countess, those ecclesiastics did every thing in their power to promote her designs, and they found little difficulty in rendering their endeavours effectual ; for the King was very well pleased to have such a companion in his solitude as this lady, to whom, as to another self, he might confide the most secret sentiments of his heart. In short, he sent for her, and married her publicly ; he thereupon demanded 100,000 crowns of the King his son, which were immediately granted him ; this sum he presented to his wife, that she might purchase with it an estate for the children of her former marriage ; and, with this view,

she purchased the Marquisate of Spigna, of which she henceforth assumed the title.

Amadeus, during the first four months, appeared to be sufficiently happy in his retirement; and the Marchioness his wife, who studied assiduously to suit herself to his humour, also assumed the appearance of happiness. At the same time, observing that the King was dissatisfied with his house, and that he frequently proposed to repair it, she exerted herself strenuously to dissuade him from his purpose, by representing to him, that it was not worth his while to repair an old castle, which was every where falling into ruin; that he could never render it either agreeable or commodious, but by pulling it down and erecting a new one in its stead; and for this she saw no necessity, since his Majesty had many fine palaces in Piedmont, amongst which he might chuse the place of his residence; to all which she added, that the climate of that country would be more favourable to his health than that of Savoy.

By such arguments as these, the Marchioness endeavoured to give her husband a disgust

gust at his residence at Chamberry, and to persuade him to return into Piedmont. But they only served to agitate him, without persuading him, as he had firmly resolved to remain for some time at a distance from the court, in order the more effectually to conceal his designs. The Marchioness indeed had other reasons besides the health of the King, for being so eager to persuade him to exchange his present residence for that of Piedmont; but these she took care not to discover, until she knew how they might correspond with the inclinations of her husband.

In the mean time, she studied to insinuate herself more and more, by flattery, and an affected fondness, into his good graces; and so successful was she in her endeavours, that the King one day requested of her to check her impatience only for a little; and that, in a short time, she would obtain that for which she most earnestly wished; for that it never had been his intention, notwithstanding what he had made his son believe, on his abdication of the crown, to pass the remainder of his days at Chamberry.

After this mark of confidence, the Marchioness was convinced that it would be easy to penetrate into the secret motives of his abdication, to which she had hitherto remained a stranger. From this period, with great art and penetration, she studied to discover his secret sentiments. She knew, by long experience, those soft and favourable moments of access, in which a wife can obtain any boon from a husband; she seized the propitious instant; and learned that his intention was to resume the crown in less than two years. "Two years!" exclaimed the Marchioness, in a transport of joy; "and why will you defer it to so distant a period?" The King then communicated to her the secret motives of his abdication, with the reasons which hindered him from resuming the crown, until the differences between the Emperor and the King of Spain, with regard to the Parmesan and Tuscany, should be terminated either by a peace or war; previous to which event, he could not extricate himself from his engagements, consistently with his honour or interests; for, on the one hand, should he join the allies of the treaty of Seville, in the expectation of their sending a powerful army to support

support him in Italy, he might be very easily overpowered by the Germans:—or should he, on the other hand, declare in favour of the Emperor, the allies would not fail to take the severest vengeance on him if they ever gained the superiority, which in all probability would happen, as the Emperor and he would never be able to make opposition against four powers so formidable as England, France, Holland, and Spain. As he had then been so unfortunate as to enter into engagements with the Emperor and the King of Spain at the same time, he had been able to find no other expedient by which he could repair his fault, than by abdicating the throne in favour of his son, recommending it to him to maintain a neutrality with regard to the contending powers, until their disputes should be brought to an issue.

The Marchioness approved of her husband's conduct; and they agreed to remain at Chamberry, where they might watch for a time and an opportunity favourable to their designs.

During their residence in Savoy, this haughty woman suggested to her husband,
that

that it would be proper to exercise, at times, that sovereign authority which he still retained over his son and his ministers, that it might not insensibly be lost. Amadeus entered readily into her views, and put her advice in practice. He ordered the King his son to visit him at Chamberry, to receive his instructions with regard to some important affairs; and that Prince obeyed him, as if he had been still his subject. In the same manner, he ordered the ministers of state, and several of the chief officers of the court, to attend his person; and he was obeyed, as if he had been still *their* Sovereign.

In the beginning of August 1731, Amadeus, having been informed that the Emperor had at length consented to permit Don Carlos, with his 6000 Spaniards, to enter into Italy, communicated the intelligence to his wife. This gave extreme pleasure to the Marchioness, because she saw herself now in a condition to execute the scheme which she had so long meditated. For this purpose, she withdrew with her husband into her closet; where she observed to him, "That it was
" now time to return into Piedmont, and to
" resume

“ resume the crown, whilst his son and his
 “ subjects yet retained for him sentiments of
 “ respect and obedience; that any delay, at
 “ that period, might prove fatal to him;
 “ especially should the Emperor and Don
 “ Carlos recognise his son as King of Sar-
 “ dinia; that the young King, by being any
 “ longer accustomed to the charms of sove-
 “ reignty, might begin to feel their influences
 “ too powerfully, to be willing to renounce
 “ them, and to descend to the rank of a sub-
 “ ject.” These insinuations of the Mar-
 chioness left a deep impression on the mind of
 Amadeus, who had now become more jealous
 than ever of his authority, though he had, in
 appearance, surrendered it to his son. He
 therefore resolved, without delay, to return
 into Piedmont; and having signified his re-
 solution to his son, the castle of Montcalier
 was, by his orders, immediately prepared for
 his reception. In the end of August, Ama-
 deus left Chambery, with his wife, and fixed
 his residence in that place.

The King his son, with the principal per-
 sons of the court, immediately attended him,
 with congratulations on his safe return.

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The Archbishop of Turin, and the Magistrates of the city, paid him the same marks of their respect. The Queen herself, accompanied by several ladies of her court, visited the Marchioness de Spigno; and shewed her the strongest marks of esteem and affection. In short, Amadeus and his wife, since their return into Piedmont, appeared to be the real Sovereigns of that country. In frequent conversations which that Prince had with the Ministers of State, and with the Governors of Turin and of the Citadel, he artfully endeavoured to sound their inclinations; and as those officers had always professed great submission, and a warm attachment to his person, he was persuaded that he might, at that time, reascend the throne, without meeting with any opposition, either on the part of his son, or of his ministry. He even relied on the attachment of the soldiery: he knew that he possessed their esteem, and he flattered himself that he also had their affection: as the greatest part of the officers were his creatures, he did not doubt but that they would pay respect to his inclinations; and he even hoped, that they would readily concur in promoting his designs. But the
sequel

sequel of this great event will shew how much he was deceived in his expectations.

He wrote to Marêchal Rebhinder in very general, though flattering and insinuating terms. But that General, who was Commander in Chief of the forces, was immediately sensible of how much consequence it was, to destroy every expectation in Amadeus of ever reascending the throne. He replied accordingly,—That he acknowledged himself his debtor in all that he possessed,—his estate, his honours, and his dignities. “Your Majesty,” said the Marêchal, “has made me what I am. I owe
 “ nothing to King Charles; and all my ex-
 “ pressions of obligation are due only to your
 “ Majesty. But of all the favours with
 “ which you have loaded me, I have always
 “ held the honour of your esteem to be the
 “ most precious. Permit me then, Sire, to
 “ preserve this honour inviolated; which, I
 “ will take the liberty to say, I have acquired
 “ at the expence of that blood which I have
 “ shed in your service. But I would forfeit
 “ it, Sire, were I unfortunate enough to prove
 “ disloyal to that King whom you have set
 “ over me, and to whom you have bound
 *
 “ me

“ me to yield obedience. I will maintain the
 “ same fidelity to him that I have done to your
 “ Majesty ; and I will lose the last drop of
 “ my blood in the support of his throne.
 “ At the same time, Sire, I shall be, at all
 “ times, ready to give your Majesty the most
 “ unequivocal marks of my respectful at-
 “ tachment ; fully sensible that you will ne-
 “ ver impose upon me any commands, that
 “ may be inconsistent with that justice and
 “ honour which have ever accompanied all
 “ my actions.”

On the 28th of September, 1731, about six
 o'clock in the afternoon, Amadeus, being
 then alone with his wife at Montcalier, dis-
 patched a message to the Marquis del Borgo,
 with orders to attend him immediately. That
 minister, without entertaining the slightest
 suspicion of the business on account of which
 his presence was required, instantly obeyed
 the summons, as he had been wont to do on
 former occasions. Immediately on his enter-
 ing the apartment, the King said to him,
 “ Del Borgo, I have sent for you to sup with
 “ my wife and me, that you might endeavour,
 “ by your good humour, to remove a head-ach
 9 “ with

“ with which she is afflicted; and after supper
“ I will impart to you an affair which will give
“ you pleasure.” The Marquis, with the
utmost respect, acknowledged the honour
which his Majesty had done him, and took
his seat at table. The King was in high
spirits during the time of supper, and enter-
tained the Marquis with a flow of humour
and gaiety. When supper was over, and the
domestics retired, the King addressed Del
Borgo in the following terms: “ It hath
“ given me great pleasure to observe, that the
“ King, my son, has retained in his service
“ the same persons whom I had employed
“ myself; since, without doubt, he could
“ not have chosen any that were equal to you
“ in fidelity, or in abilities, or in experience.
“ I doubt not, at the same time, that you
“ know sufficiently, that it was I who ex-
“ pressly charged my son to employ the same
“ ministers, on whom I myself, during my
“ reign, had fixed my choice; and I hope
“ that, as well out of duty as out of gratitude,
“ you are still firmly attached to him who
“ has been the author of your fortunes.”
The Marquis replied, “ That his Majesty
“ might always rely on his obedience, as
“ well

“ well as on the affection of all the ministers
“ and officers of the King his son, in the
“ same manner as if he were still their Sovereign ; and that, with regard to himself, he
“ would, on all occasions, embrace every opportunity of demonstrating to him the
“ most sincere and inviolable attachment.”

The King then resuming that haughty and authoritative tone, in which he had been wont to address his Ministers, replied, “ We
“ are so fully convinced, Del Borgo, that you
“ are entirely devoted to our service, that we
“ have ever distinguished you above all our
“ ministers, by our particular regard ; we
“ have always selected you from amongst the
“ rest, in order to entrust to you our most
“ important affairs ; and we have now made
“ choice of you to be the depositor of our most
“ secret resolutions. It is now about a year
“ since we have abdicated the throne in favour of our well-beloved son Charles Emmanuel, from the motives which we set
“ forth at Rivole on the day of our abdication ; to which it may be added, that we
“ had also in our view to try how that Prince
“ would demean himself in the character of a
“ Sovereign,

“ Sovereign, that we might, in our lifetime,
“ assist him with our advice, and be able to
“ leave you, after our decease, a Prince
“ worthy of filling our Throne. And though
“ we have been entirely satisfied with his
“ administration, yet the interest of our state
“ lays us under an indispensable obligation to
“ resume the reins of Government imme-
“ diately, as we are now upon the eve of see-
“ ing very important revolutions in Italy,
“ which might prove destructive to our Son,
“ and to his subjects, were the administration
“ then vested in a young Prince, yet inexpe-
“ rienced in those wiles and mysteries of po-
“ litical art, which a Sovereign, who would
“ maintain his power, is under a necessity of
“ employing. For these reasons, Marquis,
“ we command you to deliver up to us the
“ Act of our Abdication ; and then to signify
“ our intentions to our Son, and to his Mi-
“ nisters, in order that we may be invested
“ to-morrow, without delay, with the Sove-
“ reignty : for such is our will and plea-
“ sure.”

A declaration so unexpected threw the Mar-
quis into the utmost consternation ; and he

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was

was at the greatest loss how to extricate himself from an affair of such delicacy and danger. For, on the one hand, had he given a positive refusal to this high-spirited and impetuous Prince, who had never met with a refusal in his life, he ran the risque of throwing him into a transport of fury, to which he himself might have fallen a victim; and, on the other hand, had the Marquis yielded to his demands, he would have proclaimed himself a rebel against his just and lawful Sovereign, and have incurred the penalty of high treason.

In this embarrassing situation, that artful minister, hoping to escape the storm which threatened him by an excuse full of submission and flattery, replied to the King, requesting of him, with the utmost humility, to reflect, that it was not in his power to restore the Act of Abdication, until he had first obtained permission of the King of Sardinia, to whom, as his Majesty knew, he had sworn fealty. The King, chafed and enraged, interrupted him in these words:—"Del Borgo, do you acknowledge any other Sovereign than me? To whom did you first swear
I " the

“ the oath of fealty ? To me, or to my Son ?
 “ Are you not a traitor, both ungrateful and
 “ disloyal towards the person who hath raised
 “ you to that eminence which you possess,
 “ and to whom you have this moment pro-
 “ fessed perpetual obedience ? But I will
 “ easily find means to bring you back to your
 “ duty, should you fail to obey me instantly.”

The Marquis, in the utmost trepidation, proceeded in the following terms :—“ Sire, if
 “ you will do me the favour to listen to me a
 “ moment, you shall be convinced that I am
 “ not such a man as you imagine me to be.
 “ It is true, that, by your orders, I have en-
 “ tered into a new allegiance to the King your
 “ Son ; but, notwithstanding this, I have
 “ ever regarded you as my just and lawful
 “ Sovereign ; and in order to convince you,
 “ Sire, of my entire respect and obedience, I
 “ will bring you the Act of Abdication to-
 “ morrow morning, without mentioning the
 “ affair to any person whatsoever ; and the
 “ only favour that I will request in return is,
 “ that you should justify my proceeding to
 “ the King your Son.” This answer paci-
 fied Amadeus, who, after having obliged the

Marquis to promise repeatedly that he would religiously keep his word, left him at liberty to retire.

The Marquis had scarce departed, than this Prince, reflecting on what had passed, began to repent of having discovered his intentions. He began to entertain a distrust of all his Son's ministers; he was apprehensive that they would oppose his designs; and his mind was agitated by turns with the emotions of ambition and of revenge. At one instant, he flattered himself with the hopes of success from the docile and yielding dispositions of his Son; at another, he was tortured by the most agonizing apprehensions, lest that Prince, after having once tasted the pleasures of unbounded liberty, and of absolute power, should refuse to submit again to the authority of a Father so stern and rigid as himself, and so averse to the pursuits of pleasure. Such reflections as these sunk his spirit into the lowest despondency; nor did he know of any resource to which he could apply; but, stripped of his power, and abandoned by his friends, he saw himself devoted to the rigour of his fate. The Marchioness, who had hitherto been

been wont to enliven his solitary hours, and to banish his cares by her gaiety, and tender officiousness, now durst not open her lips, lest she might irritate his resentment, and draw on herself the effects of his displeasure. In this state of pensive melancholy, fetching deep sighs, and at times giving way to transports of outrageous fury, which discovered the agitations that he inwardly underwent, he walked about his chamber till midnight, when addressing himself to the Marchioness abruptly, as if just awaking from a dismal dream, he exclaimed, "My resolution is formed;—order my horse to be got ready for me without delay!" She obeyed, with much reluctance, unable to guess the motive of so sudden a resolution, and not daring to make any enquiry. He mounted his horse, attended by one valet-de-chambre, and presented himself at the gate of the citadel of Turin, demanding immediate admittance.—One of the officers of the citadel immediately acquainted the Baron de St. Remis with the arrival of King Amadeus. The Baron was astonished, and could scarce be made to believe that he could visit him at so unseasonable an hour: he went himself, without delay,

lay to examine into the truth ; and actually found Amadeus on the spot, extremely impatient to obtain admittance. The Governor begged to be informed what was his pleasure with him. " Open the gate this instant," replied he, " and I will satisfy you." The Baron answered, that if he had any orders to give him, he might deliver them from the place in which he stood, or send them to him in writing, for that he could by no means open the gate at such an hour, without being wanting to his duty, which he was resolved should never be the case.

The King, after this repulse, returned to Montcalier filled with confusion, with apprehensions, and with rage. He had expected that the Baron would have received him into the citadel without scruple, because he owed the place which he then held to his good offices ; and he had flattered himself with the hopes, that were he once admitted, he might be able, by means of the Governor, to set himself at the head of the troops stationed in that place ; and thus to compel his Son to restore the crown, if he should not be disposed to surrender it voluntarily. But
now

now all his schemes were frustrated, because he found nobody inclined to assist in promoting his designs. Overwhelmed by the keenest agony, he threw himself down on a couch, without saying a word to the Marchioness, who was standing by, filled with distress, at observing the affliction which her husband endured, whilst she was ignorant of the immediate cause of his sufferings.

No sooner had the Marquis del Borgo got back to Turin, than he hastened to court, and, with the strongest marks of consternation, demanded an audience of the King. Upon this one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber instantly arose, and went to awake his Majesty, informing him, with much trepidation, that it was by the orders of the Marquis del Borgo, who was then expecting him in an antichamber, to confer with him concerning affairs of the highest moment. The King arose immediately, and entered his closet, after having given orders to admit nobody but the Marquis only. He was then informed by that Minister, that the King his Father intended, the next day, to resume the Crown; and that he had commanded him to restore

into his hands the Act of Abdication, and, at the same time, to announce his resolution to his Majesty and his Ministers. The King immediately replied to the Marquis, without any emotion, "That since he had ascended
" the Throne by his Father's command, and
" with the universal approbation of the people, he held it to be a duty which he owed
" them, to consult their sentiments before he
" resigned his sovereignty." And as the shortness of the time required decisive measures, he immediately commanded the attendance of the Ministers of State, the Archbishop of Turin, the two First Presidents, and the other general Officers of the Crown, in order to deliberate, in full council, on an affair of such delicacy and importance, on which depended the happiness and tranquillity of the realm. Those Ministers having assembled with all possible dispatch, the King communicated to them the intentions of Amadeus, informing them, at the same time, that, for his own part, in order to convince his Father of his filial obedience, and of his entire resignation to his will, he was ready to surrender to him his Crown; but that this was a step which he could not resolve to take, without

out previously consulting their inclinations and opinions. Upon this all the members of that illustrious assembly arose, and after testifying their deep sense of the deference which his Majesty had paid to them, by a low bow, the Archbishop, in the name of the rest, spoke to the following effect: " That since his Majesty had permitted them to declare their sentiments upon the subject which was the occasion of their meeting at that time, it appeared to him, that Amadeus having, more than a year ago, voluntarily surrendered the Crown in the most solemn manner that could be devised, and for the reasons set forth by himself, in his speech on that occasion (which was inserted in the Act of Abdication), it appeared to him, he said, that the King could not possibly have any just or reasonable motive at that time to resume the Crown; since he must have been fully satisfied with his Majesty's administration, which had been equally agreeable to his subjects, and calculated to promote the ease of King Amadeus, who enjoyed the submission and respect due to a Sovereign, without being subjected to the

" troubles

“ troubles and cares which attend that exalted station : that for these reasons, though
“ that Prince had so soon retracted what
“ he had solemnly sworn to observe inviolably, he did not appear to be influenced
“ by just and reasonable motives ; and that
“ he strongly suspected that he was instigated
“ in this affair only by the boundless vanity
“ of the Marchioness his wife, who had often,
“ since her marriage, betrayed an eager desire to be declared Queen ; That as they
“ had every reason to believe this to be the
“ case, his Majesty was in honour and duty
“ bound to preserve the Crown, and to prevent his subjects from falling a prey to the
“ insatiable ambition of a mischievous woman :
“ That he could not help admiring and applauding that dutiful submission which his
“ Majesty professed to the will of his Father ;
“ but that, in this instance, his obedience, instead of meriting applause, would become
“ the subject of censure, as it would prove
“ ruinous to his own interests, and to those of
“ his people : That the interest of the public
“ should ever regulate the actions of a Sovereign ; and that he ought to reject, without
“ out

“ out a scruple, every measure that tended to
“ obstruct this general view.”

All the other members of the Council un-animously concurred with this Prelate in opinion, and approved of the dutiful remonstrances which he had offered to his Majesty. As they were deliberating concerning those measures which it would be proper to embrace, in order to ward off the calamities which threatened the state, they were interrupted by a sudden knocking at the door of the hall, in which they sat: The Marquis del Borgo, by his Majesty's command, went to examine what was the matter, and found that it was an officer dispatched from the citadel by the Baron de St. Remis, with a letter to the King, containing an account of the late step which Amadeus had taken there, in order to promote his designs. The King and all the Council were so much alarmed by this information, that they agreed, with one voice, on the necessity of immediately seizing the persons of King Amadeus, and of the Marchioness his wife, in order to secure the tranquillity of his Majesty, and that of the state, which they threatened to disturb.

The

The young King exclaimed repeatedly against this measure: "What! make my Father be seized! No," said he, "it is impossible that I should ever consent to it." It was a long while before he could be prevailed upon to agree to this measure; and it was only in compliance with the pressing intreaties of his council, that he was at length brought to give his consent. When he signed the order, his hand trembled so violently, that the Secretary of State was obliged to guide his pen.

They committed the execution of this bold enterprize to the care of twenty officers, of the most intrepid resolution, accompanied by a detachment of dragoons and infantry; and the Count de la Perouse, Lieutenant-General of the forces, was charged with the office of seizing the King, with the assistance of a large detachment of troops, entrusted to him for that purpose. These troops had been drawn out from Turin, and the places adjacent; they sallied forth at the same instant from their stations, and, without knowing the place of their destination, marching in profound silence, without beat of drum, or sound of trumpet,

trumpet, they appeared before the castle of Montcalier, the station appointed them ; and it was immediately surrounded by dragoons. The Count de la Perouse, attended by the Chevalier de Solave, Lieutenant-Colonel of the guards, at the head of a detachment of grenadiers with mounted bayonets, ascended the staircase which led to the King's apartment; and the Marquis D'Ormea, Secretary of State, who carried the order signed by King Charles, with another detachment of grenadiers, took possession of the back-stairs. De la Perouse, finding the door of the apartment locked, gave orders that it should be forced open; and there he seized a page, who being then in waiting, lay in the anti-chamber. In the same manner he advanced forward, forcing all the doors, till he reached the bed-chamber, where the King lay with the Marchioness his wife. That Lady, hearing the noise, as it approached, arose suddenly; and having only time to throw a night-gown around her, she rushed towards the door. On seeing so many armed men advancing, she exclaimed, "Sire, "we are betrayed!" They did not allow her time to say any more. Two officers immediately conducted her into an adjacent apartment,

ment, where they ordered her to dress ; and they afterwards conveyed her to the castle of Ceve, in Piedmont.

Neither the cries of Madame de St. Sebastian, nor the noise which the officers made, had disturbed Amadeus, who still continued sunk in the profoundest sleep. The Chevalier de Solave took possession of the King's sword, which he observed lying upon the table, and M. de la Perouse advanced and drew the curtain. The King, upon this, starting out of his sleep, demanded what was the matter ? " I have an order from the " King," said Perouse, " to seize your person." " And who is your King," returned Amadeus : " I am your King and your " master ; nor ought you to acknowledge " any other as such." " Your Majesty has " been my King," replied the Count, " but " you are so no longer ; and since you have " thought proper to give us Charles for our " Sovereign, and to command us to obey " him, I hope you will yourself be disposed " to set us the example of loyalty."

The

The King was quite transported with rage ; he menaced the officers, and refused to get out of his bed. He gave the Chevalier de Solave, who advanced too near him, a blow on the breast, and angrily commanded him to retire. As he obstinately refused to rise, the officers found themselves under a necessity of raising him, and dressing him by force. He declared that he wished to fill the throne again only for two hours, that he might have it in his power to hang the miscreants who had seduced his Son ; and among this number he reckoned the principal persons at court.

When he was dressed, the officers surrounded him, and conducted him by the great staircase towards his chariot, which waited for him in the court. He appeared confounded when he saw the anti-chamber full of armed men ; and the soldiers, who were as yet in the dark with regard to the business, were astonished when they found that it was their old King whom they were carrying a prisoner. " What ! 'tis our King !" they whispered among themselves : " What has he done ? What are we about ? " The Count

Count de la Perouse, apprehensive of a mutiny, cried out to the soldiers, "By the King's authority I command silence, on pain of immediate death."

The King found in the court a regiment of dragoons which he had always distinguished above the rest of his troops. Their presence seemed greatly to affect him, and he made an attempt to address them particularly; they did not however allow him leisure for this, but hurried him precipitately into his chariot. The Count de la Perouse, and the Chevalier de Solave, begged his permission to take their seats by him; but he replied, that this was what he would by no means allow. Mounting therefore on horseback, they took their stations on each side of the chariot, which was at the same time surrounded by the troops; and in this manner the King was conducted to Rivole. I had omitted to observe, that when departing from Montcalier, he demanded three things, his wife, his papers, and his snuff-box: of all these he obtained only the last. The garrison of the citadel was reinforced that night with two regiments, and that of Turin was considerably augmented.

Early

Early in the morning the officers and dragoons that guarded Amadeus at Rivole were relieved by a body of 600 foot; and strict orders were given to the commanding officer to keep that Prince always in sight. For after the refusal of the Baron de St. Remis to admit him into the citadel, he had sunk into a kind of listless insensibility; his spirits having been exhausted, by ruminating on the affront which he thought had been offered to him on that occasion, and on the means of revenging it. But when he found himself seized by his own officers, and abandoned by all those who had hitherto professed the greatest respect and attachment to his person, he became outrageous and ungovernable. They were therefore under the necessity of confining him in a room, of securing the windows with iron bars, and of watching his actions narrowly, lest he should destroy himself, or commit any other outrage. When the King observed the glazier busy about the windows of his apartment, he demanded what he meant? "I mean," replied he, "to furnish you with a double casement, lest you should catch cold during the winter." "What! villain,"

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"lain," said the King, "do you imagine that I shall pass the whole winter here?" "Ay, faith," replied the glazier, "this, and many more."

He was served in his confinement with all the attention and respect due to his rank. The Chevalier de Solare, with two Captains of the guards, had the charge of attending him; and he sometimes amused himself in playing with them at billiards. They had orders to treat him with every mark of respect; but never to return any answer to the complaints which he might be disposed to utter in their presence.

The Council of State issued orders, on the same day, to arrest the Confessor of that Prince, together with near fifty persons of distinction, who had entered into the cabal with the Marchioness de Spigno, for the purpose of dethroning the reigning Prince.—An express was dispatched to the Governor, to the Intendant-General of Chamberry, and to the Count de St. George, his brother, who was first President of that city, with orders

ders for them to repair immediately to Turin, to receive new instructions. The Count de St. George, who was suspected to have engaged in the affair more deeply than the rest, he being a near relation of the Marchioness de Spigno, was sent to the citadel of Turin, to be privately examined. The Count de Cumiane, her brother, obtained his pardon, by discovering all the secrets with which his sister had entrusted him. What may be reckoned singularly fortunate for King Charles in this affair is, that none of his subjects were found deficient in loyalty towards him; and that he was not laid under a necessity of tarnishing the glory of his reign by shedding the blood of any of his subjects. Madame de St. Sebastian sunk into the lowest dejection of spirits, and took no other sustenance than broth, which she herself prepared. After her disgrace, her son, then an Ensign in the guards, withdrew from Court. The young King took notice of his absence, and very generously gave him to understand, that he might again appear at Court, and continue in his employment; signifying to him, at the same time, that however guilty

Madame de St. Sebastian had been, the consequences would not be extended to him; and assuring him that he himself would take the charge of his future fortune.

LETTER XXXVIII. (EXTRACT.)

The Hospodar of Wallachia.

St. Petersburg, Oct. 12, 1770.

* * * * THE Hospodar, or Prince of Wallachia, arrived some months ago at St. Petersburg. He is a captive. Soon after the reduction of Chotzim he was taken prisoner in the capital of his dominions. Captive Princes are objects of curiosity. They are like stars shorn of their radiance, and cast down from the firmament. If they conduct themselves with suitable dignity, we regard them, even in their fall, with veneration: and according to the fortitude they discover, along with a proper sense of their calamity, are our feelings of respectful compassion. Besides, in considering them as fallen from exalted power, to a state of humble dependence, our sentiments are finely shaded by observing the fleeting weakness of human grandeur.

Even circumstances of no very important nature give a certain energy to those feelings: so that not only a graceful deportment, but even a good appearance, and a dress suited to their character and situation, promote and improve them.

Some circumstances of this sort concur in the appearance of the Prince of Wallachia. He is tall, robust, aged about fifty, of a dark complexion, and of a grave aspect. He wears on the crown of his head, which seems either bald or very closely shaved, a small round cap of scarlet cloth; it is entirely without ornament; does not cover his ears, nor reaches to his neck or forehead. His body is wrapped in a wide pelise of crimson cloth, with long sleeves, lined with sable, and flowing down to his feet. He wears yellow leather half-boots hanging loose about his ankles; and has nothing about him very ornamental, excepting that on his little finger he has a small gold ring, set with a beautiful turquoise, surrounded with a row of diamonds.

As he is of Greek origin, his being a man of some accomplishments will not surprize you. He is fond of music: speaks Latin and Italian,

Italian, and understands French. But he speaks little. Indeed he seems constitutionally grave and taciturn. He appears to have been, at all times, a man of more pride than vanity; and exhibits at present a fine picture of sullen grandeur.

He looks, as doth the tower, whose nodding walls
After the conflict of heaven's angry bolts,
Frown with a dignity unmark'd before
Even in its prime of strength.

Alas! in my next sentence, so faithful are our *feelings*, at least, to the interests of virtue! I shall undo the charm; efface every pleasing impression I may now have given you; and destroy all the prepossessions you may have entertained for the Hospodar of Wallachia. He is said to have proved false to the Sultan, and to be inwardly pleased that he is a captive. Away then with his princely stature, his grave aspect, his few words, and his flowing robe.—Gregory Giko, for that is his name, wears nothing about his neck; but if he fall into the hands of the Mussulmen, it will probably be embraced with a bowstring*.

* If I have not been misinformed, he was restored to his dominions when the peace was concluded between the Turks and Russians, and was soon after assassinated in his palace.

You will say, perhaps, that as he was a Greek, his wishes were naturally hostile to the Turks. But you will also remember, that he was protected by, and depended upon, the Sultan. You know that the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as the Crimea, are dependents on the Turkish empire; and that their Sovereigns, if they may be called so, are, in some measure, nominated at Constantinople. In this view therefore he is inexcusable. You will observe, that the great Despots of Europe seem desirous of having small Princes, rather than mighty Potentates, on the frontiers of their dominions. Such neighbours are not so formidable: in case of foreign wars they stand in the way of invasion; and may in time become a part of the neighbouring empire. Perhaps the Sovereigns of Russia would not be sorry to see Finland and Lithuania, no less than the provinces of ancient Dacia, erected into what they might be pleased to term independent Dukedoms or Principalities. "Why," they will say, in the superabundance of their goodness, "ought the Finlanders and the Lithuanians to be subject to the Kings of Poland and Sweden?"

It

It is impossible to consider the present state of the districts bordering on the north side of the Danube and the banks of the Neister, without feeling regret. No soil is more fertile; no climate more delightful; and the Euxine, together with the navigable rivers that fall into it, afford the means of intercourse with the rest of the world. Yet those fine provinces, which might form of themselves a respectable kingdom, oppressed and ravaged, are almost a desert.

LETTER XXXIX.

*Anecdotes of the Battle of Kabul—and of
Count Romanzow.*

St. Petersburg:

IT gives me the sincerest pleasure, my dear Sir, that our correspondence, after a long interruption, is now renewed: and I congratulate you, with all my heart, on the pleasure you will receive in visiting France and Italy.

* * * *

Long before this reaches England, you will have heard of a decisive victory obtained by Count Romanzow at the River Kahul, over the Vizir and the grand Turkish army. It will at least determine the fate of Bender, which General Panin has for some time past been very closely besieging.

Some amusing circumstances relating to the battle are mentioned here.—The Sultan having

ing consulted his astrologers, was told, that if the Vizir crossed the Danube on one day, and the Aga of the Janissaries on another, both which days were particularly specified, and if they marched immediately, and began their attack on the Russians, they would prove successful. Accordingly orders were sent to the Vizir to act agreeably to the predictions of the wise-men; and in so far as the Russians permitted them, they were punctually obeyed. For Romanzow, by beginning the attack, has afforded an excuse to the astrologers for the failure of their prophecy; and so perhaps may have saved them their heads.—The Russians, going on the attack, had to march through a field of wheat; and the common soldiers embracing this opportunity of making an addition to their provisions, filled their pockets with the wheaten ears. This circumstance was a better omen to the General, than were the predictions of astrologers to the Sultan: it shewed him that his men had no apprehension either of dying, or of being forced to return.

The Empress has rewarded Romanzow with the rank of Field Marshal; and has

given him a present of 5000 slaves, corresponding to the number of slain on the field of battle. You will know the value of this present, by recollecting, that a great man's estate in Russia is not reckoned by the extent of his lands, so much as by the number of boors he possesses. They labour the ground; pay him an annual tax; and, in proportion as their wealth increases, their tax is augmented.

Count Romanzow, by his conduct in this campaign, has justified the high opinion that was generally entertained of him as a soldier. Persons on whose veracity and information I can depend, have given me the following account of him.—He possesses great strength of mind, and is, of consequence, very steady and determined. His eagerness and activity in prosecuting every enterprize he undertakes, are invincible. His ambition is very great; yet, in his temper, its violence may be counteracted by attention to present interest. He is friendly, and even respectful to his equals; condescending to his inferiors; to his superiors haughty and unpliant. This disposition may

may prove inconvenient to himself, and hinder him from enjoying much happiness in attending on a court; but it marks a high-minded man. In particular, the person who respects his equals, shews that he respects himself. Persons of conscious inferiority alone express a mean opinion of those who are in the same condition with themselves.—Count Romanzow's abilities, as a politician, are said to be no less eminent than his military talents; and his negotiations may perhaps be no less successful than his sword, in putting an end to this cruel war.

The following anecdote of his youth is related and believed.—His earliest passion was the love of military glory: his superior understanding soon convinced him, that improvement in his profession could not, at that time, be obtained in Russia; and his eagerness determined him to a measure which his perseverance and address enabled him to execute. He left his own country without the knowledge of his friends, and enlisted as a private soldier in the army of his Prussian Majesty. Here he continued for some time;

was

was at length discovered; received promotion suited to his rank; and did not return to Russia but in obedience to the commands of his Sovereign. This anecdote receives some confirmation from an expression in a letter from Romanzow to the British Ambassador, delivered by a Scotch officer who had been recommended to him by his Lordship, and who served with distinguished honour to himself as a volunteer in the Russian army. Of that letter *, written originally in French, the following is an extract:—" I confess
" I have always been ambitious of having
" the good opinion of your nation. I had
" much intercourse with the natives of your
" country in my youth; and I reckon
" among them many particular friends.
" Besides the obligations I owe to the late
" Marechal Keith, that is to say, all the
" knowledge I have in my profession, and
" consequently all my fortune, shall make
" me, on all occasions, ardently desire to
" render justice to the merit of Englishmen,
" It is a sort of retribution; and the wor-

* Communicated to me by the gentleman who had been recommended to Count Romanzow.

" thief

"thieft incense I am capable of offering
"to the manes of that great man."—The
letter is written with the spirit of a soldier;
with the politeness of a gentleman; and, I
may add, with the elegance of a fine
writer.

I am, yours, &c.

LETTER XL.

To a Lady, who had gone to London from St. Petersburg, requesting her Return.

St. Petersburg, Dec. 23, 1770.

ALLOW me, Madam, to tell you, that by remaining in London, instead of returning to Russia, you neither consult your own interest nor ours. I will give the reason in a comparison: You have probably observed in a frosty evening, and such evenings are not scarce in St. Petersburg, that there are fewer stars in the north-west quarter of the sky than in any other. You will also have observed, that any bright star that condescends to shine there, does more good than if it shone in the milky way; it seems to illuminate those who would otherwise have sat in darkness; and, of consequence, as the reward of such condescension, it draws much more attention, and is much more admired. The

application is obvious. But lest prose should not prevail, and that nothing may be left unattempted, let us try also what verse may do.

LESBIA, return—I cannot say
 To flowery fields, and seasons gay :
 The Muse, desponding, cannot sing
 Of the sweet garniture of spring ;
 Of sunny hills, and verdant vales,
 And groves, and streams, and gentle gales :
 These, in more hospitable climes,
 May run mellifluent in my rhymes :
 For Winter, hoary and severe,
 Rules an imperious despot here.
 In chains the headlong flood he binds,
 He rides impetuous on the winds ;
 Before him awful forests bend,
 And tempests in his train contend.
 But what tho' wintry winds prevail,
 And Boreas sends his rattling hail,
 Siberian snows, and many a blast,
 Howling along the dreary waste,
 From Samoïda to the shores,
 Where black with storms the Euxine roars ;
 Thy blameless wit, thy polish'd sense,
 Can ease and gaiety dispense.

Y

Come

Come, then, enchanting Maid, and bring
The kindly influence of Spring ;
Come, with thy animating air,
And Nature's weary waste repair.

LETTER XLI.

Prince Henry of Prussia at St. Petersburg—a splendid Masquerade and Fire-Works.

DEAR SIR, St. Petersburg, Jan. 4. 1771.

THIS city, since the beginning of winter, has exhibited a continued scene of festivity and amusement: feasts, balls, concerts, plays, operas, fireworks, and masquerades in constant succession; and all in honour of, and to divert his Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, the famous brother of the present King. Yet his Royal Highness does not seem much diverted. He looks at them as an old cat looks at the gambols of a young kitten; or as one who had higher sport going on in his own mind, than the pastime of fiddling and dancing.

He came here about the beginning of November, on pretence of a friendly visit to the Empress; to have the happiness of wait-

ing on so *magnanimous* a Princess; and to see with his own eyes the progress of those immense improvements so highly celebrated by Voltaire, and the French writers, who receive gifts from her Majesty. As the Queen of Sheba had heard of King Solomon's "acts of wisdom;" and "came to see whether she had heard a true report of them in her own land;" so also this royal Prince hath come to visit this mighty Princess. It may be too, that, like the Queen of Sheba, he is come to prove her Majesty with "hard questions;" if so, he may depend upon getting answers to all his questions; and if he has any desires which she can grant, she will "grant him his heart's desire." I could, with the greatest ease, make out an excellent parallel, in which the precious stones, the camels and asses brought by the Sheban Potentate to Jerusalem, would, I assure you, make no contemptible figure.

But do you seriously imagine, that this creature of skin and bone should travel through Sweden, whence he is come at present, and Finland, and Poland, all for the pleasure of seeing the metropolis and

†

Empress

Empress of Russia? Other Princes may pursue such pastime; but the Princes of the House of Brandenburg fly at a nobler quarry. Or is the King of Prussia, as a tame spectator, to reap no advantage from the troubles of Poland, and the Turkish war? What is the meaning of his late conferences with the Emperor of Germany? Depend upon it, these planetary conjunctions are the forerunners of great events. Time, and perhaps a few months, may unfold the secret. You will recollect the signs, when you shall hear after this of changes, usurpations, and revolutions.

Prince Henry of Prussia is one of the most celebrated Generals of the present age. So great are his military talents, that his brother, who is not apt to pay compliments, says of him,—that in commanding an army he was never known to commit a fault. This, however, is but a negative kind of praise. He reserves to himself the glory of superior genius, which, though capable of brilliant achievements, is yet liable to unwary mistakes; and allows him no other than the praise of correctness. To judge of him by his appearance, I should form no high estimate of his abilities.

abilities. But the Scythian ambassadors judged in the same manner of Alexander the Great. He is under the middle size; very thin; he walks firmly enough, or rather struts, as if he wanted to walk firmly; and has little dignity in his air or gesture. He is dark-complexioned; and he wears his hair, which is remarkably thick, clubbed, and dressed with a high toupée. His forehead is high; his eyes large, with a little squint; and when he smiles, his upper lip is drawn up a little in the middle. His look expresses sagacity and observation; but nothing very amiable: and his manner is grave and stiff rather than affable. He was dressed, when I first saw him, in a light-blue frock, with silver frogs; and wore a red waistcoat and blue breeches. He is not very popular among the Russians; and accordingly their wits are disposed to amuse themselves with his appearance, and particularly with his toupée. They say he resembles Samson; that all his strength lies in his hair; and that, conscious of this, and recollecting the fate of the son of Manoah, he suffers not the nigh approaches of any deceitful Dalilah. They say he is like the comet, which, about fifteen months ago, appeared

appeared so formidable in the Russian hemisphere; and which, exhibiting a small watry body, but a most enormous train, dismayed the Northern and Eastern Potentates with "fear of change."

I saw him a few nights ago at a masquerade in the Palace, said to be the most magnificent thing of the kind ever seen at the Russian Court. Fourteen large rooms and galleries were opened for the accommodation of the masks; and I was informed that there were present several thousand people. A great part of the company wore dominos, or capuchin dresses. Though, besides these, some fanciful appearances afforded a good deal of amusement. A very tall Cossack appeared completely arrayed in the "Hauberk's twisted mail." He was indeed very grim and martial. Persons in emblematical dresses, representing Apollo and the Seasons, addressed the Empress in speeches suited to their characters. The Empress herself, at the time I saw her Majesty, wore a Grecian habit; though I was afterwards told, that she varied her dress two or three times during the masquerade. Prince Henry of Prussia wore a

white domino. Several persons appeared in the dresses of different nations, Chinese, Turks, Persians, and Arminians. The most humorous and fantastical figure was a Frenchman, who, with wonderful nimbleness and dexterity, represented an overgrown, but very beautiful parrot. He chattered with a great deal of spirit; and his shoulders, covered with green feathers, performed admirably the part of wings. He drew the attention of the Empress; a ring was formed; he was quite happy; fluttered his plumage; made fine speeches in Russ, French, and tolerable English; the ladies were exceedingly diverted; every body laughed but Prince Henry, who stood beside the Empress, and was so grave and so solemn, that he would have performed his part most admirably in the shape of an owl. The parrot observed him; was determined to have revenge; and having said as many good things as he could to her Majesty, he was hopping away; but just as he was going out of the circle, seeming to recollect himself, he stopped, looked over his shoulder at the formal Prince, and quite in the parrot tone and French accent, he addressed him most emphatically with *Henri! Henri! Henri!*
and

and then diving into the crowd, disappeared. His Royal Highness was disconcerted; he was forced to smile in his own defence, and the company were not a little amused.

At midnight a spacious hall of a circular form, capable of containing a vast number of people, and illuminated in the most magnificent manner, was suddenly opened. Twelve tables were placed in alcoves around the sides of the room, where the Empress, Prince Henry, and a hundred and fifty of the chief nobility and foreign ministers, sat down to supper. The rest of the company went up by stairs on the outside of the room into the lofty galleries, placed all around on the inside. Such a row of masked visages, many of them with grotesque features and bushy beards, nodding from the side of the wall, appeared very ludicrous to those below. The entertainment was enlivened with a concert of music; and at different intervals persons in various habits entered the hall, and exhibited Cossack, Chinese, Polish, Swedish, and Tartar dances. The whole was so gorgeous, and at the same time so fantastic, that I could not help thinking myself present at some of the magnificent

cent festivals described in the old-fashioned romances :

the marshal'd feast
Serv'd up in hall with sewers and seneffals.

The rest of the company, on returning to the rooms adjoining, found prepared for them also a sumptuous banquet. The masquerade began at six in the evening, and continued till five next morning.

Besides the masquerade, and other festivities, in honour of, and to divert Prince Henry, we had lately a most magnificent shew of fireworks. They were exhibited in a wide space before the Winter Palace ; and, in truth, "beggared description." They displayed, by a variety of emblematical figures, the reduction of Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, and the various conquests and victories atchieved since the commencement of the present war. The various colours, the bright green, and the snowy white, exhibited in these fireworks, were truly astonishing. For the space of twenty minutes, a tree adorned with the loveliest and most verdant foliage, seemed to be waving as with a gentle breeze. It was entirely of fire ; and during the whole

of this stupendous scene, an arch of fire, by the continued throwing of rockets and fire-balls in one direction, formed as it were a suitable canopy.

On this occasion a prodigious multitude of people was assembled; and the Empress, it was surmised, seemed uneasy. She was afraid, it was apprehended, lest any accident, like what happened at Paris at the marriage of the Dauphin, should befall her beloved people. I hope I have amused you; and ever am,

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R XLII.

Account of the Consecration of the Waters:

DEAR SIR,

St. Petersburg, Jan. 7. 1771.

ONE of the most magnificent ceremonies in the Greek church, and that which seems chiefly to draw the attention of strangers is, the consecration of the waters. It is performed twice in the year; but the most splendid display of this ceremony is exhibited on the 6th of January, and is performed in commemoration of the baptism of our Saviour. As I was yesterday present at this solemnity, I shall mention to you some of those circumstances in the shew, which seemed to me most remarkable.

A pavilion, supported by eight pillars, under which the chief part of the ceremony was performed, was erected on the Moika, a stream which enters the Neva between the
Winter

Winter Palace and the Admiralty. On the top was a gilded figure of St. John: on the sides were pictures of our Saviour, represented in different situations; and within, immediately over the hole which was cut through the ice into the water, was suspended the figure of a dove. The pavilion was surrounded with a temporary fence of fir-branches; and a broad lane from the palace was defended on each side in a similar manner. This passage, by which the procession advanced, was covered with red cloth. The banks of the river, and the adjoining streets, were lined with soldiers. The Moika, in honour of the event commemorated by this solemnity, is always dignified, on the 6th of January, with the name of the river Jordan.

On the present occasion the Archbishop of Novogrod presided; and the first part of the service was performed in the Imperial chapel. The procession then advanced, by the passage abovementioned, to the Jordan of the day. It consisted of musicians, inferior clergy, and dignified clergy, with all their usual parade of tapers, banners, lofty mitres, and flowing robes. They ranged themselves
within

within the pavilion, and were soon after joined by another procession of such of the Empress's Court and Family as chose to be present at this solemnity; for the Empress, owing to some indisposition, was absent. No parade of Priests and Levites, even in the days of Solomon, and by the banks of Shiloh, could be more magnificent. After the rite was performed with customary prayers and hymns, all who were present had the happiness of being sprinkled with the water thus consecrated and rendered holy. The standards of the army and the artillery received similar consecration; and the rite was concluded with a triple discharge of musquetry.

The Russians conceive that the water, thus sanctified, possesses the most singular virtues. Accordingly the multitude who were assembled on the outside of the fence, and the guard surrounding the pavilion, when the ceremony was over, rushed with ungoverned tumult to wash their hands and their faces in the hallowed orifice. What pushing and bawling, and scolding and swearing—to get rid of their sins! the Priests of different churches, and many other persons, carried home

home with them large quantities of holy water; and believed themselves in possession of a most invaluable treasure. For they apprehend, that it is not only blessed with spiritual energy, and is efficacious in washing away the diseases of the soul, but is also a sovereign antidote against the malign influences of evil spirits; and may be prescribed with great advantage against the pains and maladies of the body.—A Lady, as the story goes, had a child ill of a fever; many medicines were tried, but without effect: she was at length prevailed with to administer holy water: it was many months after the time of consecration; the water was spoilt; but she did not believe it was so: for such water is reckoned incapable of spoiling. Be that as it may, she administered a copious draught; and the child died. But having been poisoned by the waters of Jordan, the mother could not repine.

On the same principle, all infants who are baptized with the water of the sacred orifice, are supposed to derive from it the most peculiar advantages. Parents therefore are very eager, even at the hazard of their childrens'

childrens' lives, to embrace the blessed occasion. I have heard that a priest, in immersing a child, for baptism is performed here by the immersion of the whole body, let it slip, through inattention, into the water. The child was drowned; but the holy man suffered no consternation. "Give me another," said he, with the utmost composure, "for the Lord hath taken this to himself." The Empress, however, having other uses for her subjects, and not desiring that the Lord should have any more in that way at least, gave orders, that all children to be baptized in the Jordan, should henceforth be let down in a basket. Adieu.

LETTER XLIII. (EXTRACT.)

To the Reverend ———,
*Concerning the Effect of pompous religious
 Rites on the Devotion of the Worshipper.*

**** I AM more than ever of your opinion, that simplicity ought to reign in the forms of religious worship.—
 “Piety, and a sense of the Supreme Being,”
 as I have heard you observe, “ought not to
 “be mere holiday raiment, or a cloke to be
 “worn only on Sundays. The sentiments
 “and dispositions produced by true religion
 “ought to be mingled with, and form a part
 “of our temper. We ought to entertain
 “them habitually in our minds, and carry
 “them with us even to scenes of business and
 “of amusement. They will render business
 “agreeable, and heighten the pleasure of the
 “rural walk.” These are your doctrines,
 Z ——— and

and they are well founded. But if we think it essential to the exercises of devotion, that our minds be much elevated and transported; if we must feel violent raptures and strong emotions, we deceive ourselves. These transports are of little service. Extacy soon subsides: the resolutions which it occasions are no less transient; they vanish with the mood that produced them; they are a gaudy structure, but have no foundation. Pompous ceremonies, glaring pictures, and even ravishing music, have, no doubt, very pleasing effects; but they rather tend to produce wild enthusiasm, than meek religion. I had lately a whimsical instance. At a very magnificent ceremony of the Greek church, at which I was present, every thing was contrived to work on the senses, and inflame the imagination: Solemn processions of mitred Priests—a respectable and numerous audience—the Empress of this great empire, and all her Court—every one with the gestures and face of devotion—mysterious forms—and solemn music. I was struck! 'tis a false religion, said I to myself: but still I was amazed at what I felt; and almost joined in worshipping the glaring Saint.—I was next night at
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an exquisite opera: the music rapturous—the scenery like enchantment—the theatre lofty—the dresses magnificent—and the dancing, which was intermixed, resembled the light airy gestures of sylphs or præternatural beings. In one part, a Priestess of Diana, accompanied with a chorus, consisting of an hundred Priests and Nymphs, sung hymns to the Goddess: it was affecting. “It is
 “ strange, thought I; yesterday I was of the
 “ Greek persuasion; and I am this night a
 “ Pagan.” * * * *

L E T T E R XLIV*.

Observations on the Punishment of Crimes, in Answer to the Thirty-second Letter in this Collection, concerning the Administration of Justice in Russia.

DEAR SIR,

THERE are several circumstances in your situation which must afford you a great deal of pleasure, especially the opportunity which you enjoy, and which I see you do not neglect, of comparing the condition of mankind in foreign countries with that which you were acquainted with at home, and of

* The Author of this Volume had no notion, when he wrote the Thirty-second Letter, of the merit it was about to have with his Readers. It produced this Answer, which the ingenious Writer has most obligingly allowed him to publish. If the Editor could have presented every other Letter in the collection so well supported as that which has occasioned this return, the solicitude he now feels on coming before the Public, might perhaps have been lessened.

observing

observing the varieties which the difference between them produces upon manners and character. It is flattering to our national pride, that you have hitherto met with nothing that tends to weaken your attachment to the liberty and the customs of your countrymen.

In your enquiries, the various regulations of police deservedly occupy a part of your attention; and, among these, the laws relating to the prevention or punishment of crimes certainly occupy a very distinguished place. Every good citizen ought earnestly to wish, that the magistrate should be enabled to watch over the interests of all the individuals belonging to the community, and to restrain any person whatever from violating their rights. For the sake of absolute security from all injuries to his person or property, he might perhaps be disposed to sacrifice several other valuable privileges.

There are regulations and establishments of police in other countries, which tend more effectually to protect the inhabitants from the fraud and violence of their fellow-citizens, than any provisions that have been made by

our laws. I entirely acquiesce, however, in your judgment, that similar plans, for prevention of crimes, would be attended with great and imminent danger, if they were adopted in Britain. It is not to be denied, that, in this island, daring attacks have often been made by desperate individuals upon the persons and properties of men; and, on account of these, our unequalled form of government has frequently suffered reproach among the advocates for arbitrary power in foreign states. The representations of this evil that have been given are not entirely groundless, though they are sometimes grossly and industriously exaggerated. But even granting that they are strictly true, it will not be found easy to devise a remedy that will not occasion more fatal consequences than the disease. It is better to remain as we are, though sometimes exposed to danger from the feeble attack of a timid and skulking plunderer, than to arm a protector with irresistible powers, that may afterwards be openly employed to rob us of our most valuable rights.

I have

I have heard of two schemes that have been seriously proposed, with a view to prevent the frequency of crimes, especially of robberies, in this country. The one of these is, to erect a Board of Police in the capital, resembling that which is established in France, under the inspection of a fit person, corresponding to the Lieutenant of Police in Paris, who, by means of spies and emissaries, and by means of information regularly transmitted to him from proper officers stationed in the country, may have a perfect acquaintance with the residence and transactions of all persons whose characters are suspicious. The other scheme is, to condemn all persons, guilty of robbery, or of other gross crimes, to bondage and hard labour. I am not satisfied that either of these proposals, if carried into execution, would answer the end intended by them; and I am thoroughly convinced that neither of them is adapted to the constitution of Britain, and the temper of its inhabitants.

The first of these schemes, by which it is proposed to form a great establishment of police, comprehending many inferior depart-

ments, with their proper officers, is recommended by the success in preventing or speedily detecting crimes, with which similar plans have been attended on the Continent, especially in France. We must not, however, allow this consideration alone to determine our judgment, for there may be regulations well adapted to the manners and government of other nations, that are inconsistent with our sentiments, and with the spirit of our constitution.

An obvious objection to this plan arises from the great expence with which the execution of it must necessarily be attended. It would require a vast number of spies of different ranks, connected with one another by their subordination to common superiors.—We can hardly suppose that these spies could, at all times, possess a sufficient degree of intelligence for the purposes of the establishment, if they were less numerous than the officers of excise. As it might be necessary, however, that, in appearance at least, they should carry on some ordinary business, with a view to conceal their real employment, they might not entirely depend on the public treasury

fury for subsistence, and might therefore be supported for a smaller sum than the same number of excise officers. At the same time, when we reflect, that secret services must be liberally paid for, and that it might be requisite to have spies who could easily obtain admission into fashionable circles, there is reason to believe that the difference of expence upon the whole might not be very considerable. Though the excise be a very productive tax, the nation has always complained of the heavy charges paid for collecting it. If a burthen equally grievous were laid upon a free people, without any pretence of defending their country, or of annoying their enemies, it would be altogether unsupportable. The French indeed do not murmur; but the French do not tax themselves, and they claim no right to enquire into the expenditure of public money.

There is another objection to this proposal of much more weight than that which I have already mentioned, arising from the nature of our civil constitution. A free people will never submit, for the sake of the most perfect security from the injurious attacks of individuals,

duals, to the restraint of acting always under the inspection of spies. They will not allow their houses to be examined by officers of police, without legal warrants from the magistrate; nor will they bear with patience to see their fellow-subjects carried away to prison, unless they know the grounds upon which they are suspected, and are also assured that they shall soon be brought to a fair and open trial. Men who love civil liberty, would rather chuse that their goods and persons should be exposed to some small degree of danger, than purchase a complete security from such injuries, by suffering those who are in power to inspect every man's business and conversation. An establishment of police, perfectly adapted to answer its end, requires that cognizance should be taken of the suspicious as well as of the guilty, and is therefore inconsistent with liberty.

It is only in arbitrary governments that such great and regular systems of police have been carried into execution: and there is reason to believe, that they are supported at great expence, and with unremitting attention, much more from reasons of state than from

from any regard to the security of the subject, or the good order of the community. The end which they have in view does not appear to be so much the punishment or the prevention of crimes, as the safety of the Prince's person, and the maintenance of his authority. A despot is at all times jealous and suspicious. He dreads every whisper, as if it were the voice of a conspirator; and his throne shakes below him whenever there is the smallest commotion among his subjects. Spies are necessary to bring him information of every thing that has the appearance of design or of exertion, that he may be enabled to preserve, through all his dominions, the stillness of night. But he endeavours to conceal his own fears under the plausible pretence, that all his anxieties are produced by his unceasing attention to the safety and security of his subjects. The Sovereign of a free state is agitated by no similar fears, for he reigns agreeably to the declared inclinations of his people; he possesses their confidence, and can depend upon their affections. As long as the Sovereign of a free country is disposed to rule agreeably to the principles of the constitution, he will endeavour to be directed by the general

ral wishes of his people; and whenever he begins to suppress the open declarations of their fears and disgusts, and to obtain secret and indirect information concerning their sentiments, he certainly means to increase his own power, and to lessen their influence. He distrusts them, because he knows that he himself deserves not to be trusted.

A system of police, for the purpose of detecting crimes by means of Spies, has, for a considerable time, been carried on in London, under the inspection of Sir John Fielding; but it is not extensive, nor is it subservient to any thing but the administration of justice. It must be conducted in some way that is very different from its present form, before any suspicion can reasonably arise, that it may, at last, be made use of to serve purposes of state. The best of rulers, however, are naturally desirous of increasing their power; and men who have privileges to lose, ought for ever to be on their guard. The conduct of the suspicious must sometimes be enquired into; but let the nature and grounds of the suspicion under which they lie always be made publicly known; and let the enquiry be open, impartial,

partial, and not unnecessarily delayed. Notwithstanding every precaution that can be taken, the innocent may sometimes be unjustly suspected, and may become sufferers by confinement before the truth can be investigated; but let them never suffer, unless strong presumptions lie against them, and let it be understood, that suffering is very different in its nature from punishment, for though it may be severe, it is not ignominious.

The other scheme, by which it is proposed to condemn certain classes of criminals to hard labour, as well as the former, seems liable to strong objections. Punishments of various kinds may be devised, and many kinds of them have been inflicted in different countries, some of them with better and some with worse effects: All those which are accompanied with torture are happily laid aside in our own island; and, in the opinion of the wisest men, should be abolished every where. Why should the delicate, the sensible, and the compassionate, be wantonly subjected to that anguish which they must necessarily feel, when they are forced to see, or to hear of sufferings that are shocking to humanity? Is it

it even prudent to expose atrocious guilt in those particular circumstances, in which its baseness is concealed, or palliated, by emotions of pity excited in favour of the criminal? Such punishments are inconsistent with the natural principles of man, and with the ends of penal sanctions.

The punishments that are shocking to humanity ought never to be inflicted; yet there are crimes that justify great severity. Justice may reasonably demand, that a man who has been guilty should suffer in his fortune; though, at the same time, rigour, in this respect, should always be avoided, when the future welfare of his family is connected with the forfeiture. A man may also deserve to be banished from his country, and to be legally divested of all those privileges which he formerly enjoyed as a citizen. He may even be guilty of such atrocious acts, that the indignation of mankind cannot be satisfied, if his life be spared. Banishment and death are punishments, by which future danger from the attempts of a person, who, by the perpetration of gross crimes, has discovered an inclination and capacity to injure society in its most essential

sential interests, may be effectually prevented; and they do not seem improper under any form of government.

Deprivation of liberty is a kind of punishment that may also, in some forms of it, be adopted in any civil community. Imprisonment for a limited time, if it be regarded as a severe and not as a shameful punishment, may often be very reasonable and proper. Even perpetual imprisonment is a sort of punishment that is not inconsistent with the principles of free government; but in any state, whether free or despotical, to retain a person who is never to be of any service to the community, and who might perhaps be useful elsewhere, seems to be a measure unnecessary and inexpedient. If there be a man, whom it is dangerous to preserve in the community, the obvious dictate of common sense seems to be, that he ought to be thrown out of it.

Instead of preserving an useless life in a state of long imprisonment, it has been thought a wise expedient in some nations to condemn to slavery those criminals, whose
guilt

is not considered as heinous enough to deserve death, though their vicious inclinations are so well known that it would be dangerous to entrust them with liberty. It has been imagined, that while their labour was a punishment to themselves, it might be productive of some benefit to the state. This is the mode of treating certain classes of felons; which some are desirous of seeing established in Britain.

There are several lights in which the tendency of this sort of punishment may be examined. If we look upon it as an engine of police, merely intended to prevent men who are ill-disposed from the commission of crimes, it appears to be very well contrived. While persons, from whom danger might be apprehended, are kept under the immediate inspection of proper officers, while their tasks are regularly demanded from them, and the rod of correction is continually suspended over their heads, they can hardly find any opportunity to injure the properties of others.

It cannot, however, be reasonably expected, that this mode of punishment will produce any

any such good effect, unless the criminal be condemned to slavery for life. There are some, indeed, who are inclined to believe, that hard labour, continued for a limited course of years, may be sufficient to answer the purpose. They found their belief upon the persuasion, that a happy alteration in the manners and characters of the sufferers may gradually be produced. I am rather of opinion, that every successive year the morals of persons in such circumstances will become more and more corrupt. Slavery must be followed with consequences entirely similar to those which attend other punishments of an ignominious nature; all of which seem very ill adapted to make any desirable alteration in the offender. A man who is subjected to public infamy immediately loses all sense of shame, and becomes from that time bolder in guilt than ever he was before. This evil is common to all ignominious punishments when the criminal is permitted to survive them, and to continue in the same society to which he formerly belonged. But there are also other evils which are peculiar to that mode of infamous punishment which we are considering. If it should become

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common to condemn felons to hard labour, it will be impossible to keep them under proper discipline, unless a number of them be collected together; and if they be permitted to live in society with one another, each of them will become more corrupted than he was before: and persons thus trained up in the school of vice, whenever their period of servitude expires, will become the most daring of villains. The contagion of bad principles that infects every manufactory where labourers are collected together, cannot fail of spreading with great rapidity among men who are stigmatized for their villany, and legally deprived of reputation. The lot of slavery alone is sufficient to debase the minds even of the ingenuous, and must render those who are already corrupted totally abandoned. If, therefore, it be at all proper to make slavery the punishment of crimes, it ought to be perpetual; for in no other way can it effectually prevent the disturbance to which Society might afterwards be exposed from the same persons who had formerly violated its laws.

The matter may be examined in another view. One important end of punishment is

to prevent the future commission of crimes similar to that for which the penalty is inflicted. Condemnation to hard labour does not seem to be an expedient well adapted for answering this valuable purpose. Its effects indeed extend to the guilty persons who suffer ; it restrains from injurious acts some of the worst members of the Society ; but it does not sufficiently deter other persons of abandoned principles from committing the same crimes for which they are suffering. No punishment can be very effectual, unless it strike the imagination of the spectator ; and for this purpose, it is not enough that it be severe, it is further requisite that it should rarely occur. Slavery in itself is undoubtedly very severe, even more severe than death ; but it seldom appears to an indifferent spectator in this light. The generality of men thoughtlessly estimate the lot of a slave as not much harder than that of the labouring poor. They look only to his external appearance, without entering into the distressful thoughts that are inseparable from his wretched station. Where slavery is established, the evils attending it are frequently exposed to view, and the impression which they make upon the mind, even of

the compassionate, is scarcely felt. A punishment that is continually exhibited cannot be very striking. We cease to be moved with the most shocking spectacles when we are accustomed to see them every day; and a villain will not feel much uneasiness from the dread of those sufferings which long observation has rendered familiar to him.

It may be added, that condemnation to hard labour is the most unequal of all punishments that can be inflicted. Death and exile are equally severe upon the generality of men; but the evils of slavery fill men with different degrees of distress, according to the diversity of their circumstances. A man who, during the greater part of his life, has been accustomed to work with his hands, and whose expectations scarce ever rose beyond provision for a scanty maintenance, could not suffer nearly so much from being obliged to labour in a way similar to his ordinary employment, as the man who has been brought up in luxury and refinement. The spendthrift clerk of a grocer may be guilty of the same crime with a coal-heaver; but it would be most unmerciful to condemn the former
to

to undergo the same bodily labour with the latter. One of them wants entirely those habits which the other has spent his days in acquiring. Cases might easily be supposed, in which punishments of this sort would be more severe than any thing which the ingenuity and cruelty of men have been able to devise. A judge might indeed be allowed to discriminate among a number of criminals, and allot to each of them the degree of punishment which he thought proper, and adequate to his offence, his constitution and his habits; but in a free state, every discrimination of such a nature is looked upon as grossly iniquitous;

A law, then, condemning criminals of a certain description to hard labour, though it might be attended with several advantages as a regulation of police, appears at the same time to be inseparable from various disadvantages that are more than sufficient to counterbalance all its salutary effects. The inconveniences, however, that have been mentioned, are not the whole, nor are they the most alarming of those that might be mentioned. It is to be apprehended, that such a

law, if it were executed with rigour, might indirectly produce consequences of a public and most important kind. I am fully satisfied that slavery, limited to a certain term of years, will not answer the intention of preventing crimes. In order, therefore, to render a law, by which felons are condemned to hard labour, effectual in bringing about its end, it will be necessary to make the penalty perpetual. If the condemnation of felons to a state of bondage, which is to terminate only with their lives, were established by statute, and if the law were rigorously executed through every part of the kingdom, it is manifest that the number of bondmen would soon become very great. The expence necessary for supporting the institution would, in a short time, become enormous and intolerable to the nation; for the labour of slaves, employed in public works, and placed under the direction of an overseer who has no interest in them, will produce nothing by which the charge of maintaining them may be defrayed. The expences might indeed be lessened, by employing them in the ordinary occupations of civil life; but if this were the case, the distinction between them
and

and other classes of citizens would be too slightly marked to render their punishment exemplary ; while, at the same time, the honest labourer would suffer degradation in his own fancy and that of others, from the reflection, that he earned his bread by manual acts so mean and so severe, that condemnation to the performance of them was thought a proper punishment for those who are the disgrace of our species. The following seems to be the only remaining expedient for preventing these evils, if this sort of penalty be insisted upon, to wit, That those who may be condemned to hard labour shall be made the private property of individuals, who being bound to maintain them, will have an interest in obliging them to perform the tasks assigned them. But still this expedient would bring along with it new inconveniencies. It is greatly for the interest of the community, that persons of notoriously abandoned characters should be kept by themselves ; but, according to this scheme, they would again be dispersed and mingled with the great body of the people, whom they would have an opportunity to corrupt. Their punishment might be abundantly and even excessively se-

vere; but being endured in private, it could not be exemplary; and there is reason to fear, that it would very frequently be capriciously and iniquitously inflicted. It must be added, that, from the instant when such a regulation took effect, domestic slavery would be introduced, and supported by the authority of law.

If domestic slavery, in any considerable extent, were tolerated, and a legal method of acquiring slaves instituted, the horrors of that deplorable state would appear to the imagination in colours much less lively than they do at present, and would soon cease to be shocking. Custom and familiarity would reconcile the minds of men to the view of misery, and in process of time it would probably not be thought cruel to deprive men of their liberty for very small offences. The consequences might at last become worse than at first might be suspected, or indeed can be easily conceived. In such circumstances, would an ambitious statesman hesitate to court the favour of the rich, by freeing them from the burthen of poor's-rates, which might be easily done, if the minds of men were reconciled to domestic

domestic slavery, by adopting the plan for maintaining the poor, which was proposed and recommended, about the beginning of this century, by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun? Would he think it hard, to make those who could not support themselves and their families, together with their wives and children, the legal property of their rich and powerful neighbour, who might be willing to supply with food the feeble and the infant, from the prospect of acquiring a sufficient recompence by their future labour? As one step naturally and insensibly leads to another, we might reasonably expect, that a scheme of this nature would be embraced, as soon as the minds of men could be brought to bear it. The ancient Romans allowed the person of a man who could not pay his debts to be sold. If we were accustomed, as they were, to the deprivation of liberty, domestic slavery would soon become universal.

A state in which domestic slavery prevails may be great and vigorous, and may enjoy very extensive political liberty; but its freedom must be the freedom of an aristocracy, under which inauspicious form of government,

ment, whatever blessings may be enjoyed by a few, the great body of the people must be in a condition of bondage and ignorance, very little superior to the condition of beasts of burthen.

I have given you my sentiments with respect to these two expedients for preventing and punishing crimes. Both of them must, in my opinion, be inadequate, as long as they are managed consistently with the principles of free government. I think it would be highly dangerous to this country to carry them into execution in any degree whatever; because it is not improbable, that, at some future period, a minister inclined, as ministers often are, to increase the power of the crown, might avail himself of them to promote purposes that were not intended by those who at first proposed them. A free country can never be enslaved till the customs and the feelings of men be altered; but this is a sort of change that may, by slow and insensible degrees, be at last effected. In a state where the conduct of none of the citizens has ever been watched over by spies, the minister who employs such emissaries, for his own ends,

ends, will be universally detested. But if an establishment of this jealous nature be already founded in one department, and the minds of men reconciled to it, something of the same kind may, with less difficulty, be introduced into another. Free men abhor slavery; but if they can be induced by motives of convenience to tolerate it in one instance, they may gradually be brought to bear it with patience in more. If they can behold a felon reduced to slavery, without any emotions of indignation, they may be brought, by degrees, to behold those whom they despise, or in whose welfare they have no interest, reduced to the same condition, without feeling much for their misery. It is the duty of a free people to watch over their liberties with a jealous eye, and to look even upon small circumstances, by which they are infringed or endangered, as matters of great importance.

L E T T E R XLV.

*Concerning the Progress of the Feudal System
in Russia.*

DEAR SIR,

FROM all the enquiries I have been able to make, I do not find that the Feudal System was ever so fully established in Russia as in the other countries of Europe.

The Sovereigns of this country, for near a thousand years, seem to have reigned with unlimited power. Nor have I ever found, notwithstanding the fond assertions of some patriotic Russians, that in all that period they ever beheld a single glimpse of freedom.— You will readily observe, from the situation of this country, that it was, in early times, much exposed to the invasions and ravages of the neighbouring nations. It had been the thorough-fare, in some measure, by which the Eastern tribes had entered into, and taken possession

possession of Europe. After that period, the nations that remained in it were governed by various independent leaders, or Knezes. These necessarily quarrelled, and waged war against one another. At length they were all subdued by the ancestors of the Russian Emperors, whose territory being in early times limited, they resided first at Wolodimir, but afterwards transferred the seat of their dominion to Moscow.

Not only were the Russians exposed to the inroads of surrounding barbarians, but the whole country may be considered as one extensive plain. It is not defended by such fastnesses of rocks, and chains of mountains, as have sometimes served as a barrier to other nations. In order therefore to be ever ready to repel violence, and protect his subjects from the predatory assaults of their rapacious neighbours, the Sovereign, or Velike Knez, was provided with a body of armed troops. He gave them regular pay; he kept them in readiness to obey his commands; and never dismissed them from his service. In this manner he afforded such ample protection to his subjects of every denomination from the
incurfions

incursions of foreign enemies, that they became careless of their own defence. Every thing was entrusted to the Velikè Knez, known, after the reduction of Casan, by the name of Czar, and of late by the more fashionable name of Emperor. His valour and activity, aided by his army, though sometimes severely tried by his surrounding adversaries, preserved them, upon the whole, not only from depredation, but insult.

Another consequence flowing from the same cause was, that persons of great property did not fix their constant residence on their estates in the country, nor lived separately from one another, surrounded by their dependants, and in a state of rural magnificence. They left the care of their estates to superintendants, and resorted to the great towns, and particularly to Moscow. Here they not only enjoyed some security from the ravages of the Tartarian and northern tribes, but shared in the intercourse of social life. This intercourse, however, though it might be favourable to projects and conspiracies against the power of the Sovereign, never produced any combination so successful as to overthrow,

overthrow, or even shake his authority. Were they ever so much inclined to revolt against, or abridge his power, they were destitute of the means. They were removed to a distance from their dependants; their dependants themselves had no other connection with them than to render them obedience, or the fruit of their labour*; and were not present to partake of the glory, or adopt the resentment of their superiors. Add to this, that the armed force in the hands of the Czar would immediately crush the beginning of a rebellion.

The same seems to have been the situation in the eastern monarchies, and particularly in Persia and Assyria. The great men lived together in fenced and walled cities: they were at a distance from their vassals, and under the immediate view of the Sovereign. Hence those cities of enormous magnitude, that distinguished in early times the more improved parts of Asia. Hence too the name of the capital sometimes became the name of the country or of the people. The Sovereigns of

* Stuart's View of Society in Europe, p. 2. ch. 1.

Chaldea were often styled Kings of Babylon. In like manner the city of Moscow had almost imposed the name of Muscovy on Russia, and of Muscovites on the Russians. It required a considerable effort in the rulers of Russia to recover and preserve their original name.

In consequence of the armed force and success of the Velikè Knez in defending his subjects, he entertained ambitious views, and meditated conquest. Accordingly he subdued the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, and extended his dominions towards the Baltic. These conquests contributed in a variety of different views to confirm his absolute power at home. He rose, accordingly, to the state of an Oriental Despot. So totally were all notions of real rights and privileges extinguished in the breasts of the nobility, that when the line of Ruric, which had reigned 700 years, was extinct, and when a new Sovereign, or Dynasty of Sovereigns, was to be appointed, the Russians never thought of binding their race of rulers by any such covenant or regulations as would even tend to emancipation. Even of late, when the Em-
press

press Anna Ivanowna was exalted to the throne, and was in such critical circumstances as would have induced her to grant any privileges to her subjects, those which were demanded had little respect to the general freedom of the people, or even of the nobility; and, therefore, that she was not compelled to grant them, need not be regretted. Such absolute and undisputed authority has the Sovereign of this empire continually maintained; and so little opposition has he ever encountered from his great lords or chieftains, that I have not learned of his ever having found it expedient, in order to encumber their ambition, to interpose in behalf of their vassals, or countenance among them any pretensions to independence. In the same view it is amusing to remark the nature of the suspicions entertained by the Russians against Demetrius, a pretender to the Russian throne, and the charges that were brought against him. " His laying aside the haughty
" state of the former Czars, by appearing in
" public more than they had used to do;
" and his suffering people to speak to him
" without being commanded, a treatment the
" Russians had not been used to, were deem-

" ed derogatory from his dignity, and con-
 " stituted into proofs of his not being the
 " person he pretended."—The manner too,
 in which some of the Russian Emperors chose
 their wives, resembles that of the Artaxerxes's
 and Ahasuerus's, and other Sovereigns of an-
 cient Asia. " The finest maidens in the em-
 " pire were sent for to court; the monarch or
 " saw them either under a borrowed name,
 " without disguise; the wedding day was fixed;
 " and the bridegroom declared his choice, by
 " presenting a wedding garment to the bride.
 " It was thus the Czar Michael Romanzow
 " married Eudoxia, the daughter of Streshnev,
 " who was tilling his ground with his own
 " servants, when a messenger brought him
 " presents from the Emperor, and informed
 " him that his daughter was on the throne."

Although, therefore, you may have re-
 marked some circumstances in the accounts I
 have given you that resemble feudal manners,
 yet I cannot think they have their origin in
 the feudal institutions. No doubt, in so far
 as feudal principles are common to all men,
 in a certain state of society, and may be traced
 among the Greeks and Romans, no less than
 among

among the ancestors of the modern European nations, the Russians also may have exhibited some corresponding appearances. But the chief particulars in their manners, that display any such pretension, arise from the supreme authority of the Emperor over the nobility, and of the nobility over their slaves.

The peasantry were obliged to obey their superiors, either in labouring the ground, or in going out to war; but it does not appear, that the terms on which they were allowed to derive subsistence to themselves from tillage were, that they should, on demand, perform military service. If they transgressed against the will of their owner, they might no doubt be driven out of his estates. But the master was unwilling to inflict this kind of punishment; it was like depriving himself of a dog or a horse. The most common punishment would be the seizure of their effects, or corporal suffering. In this we see nothing like the incident of *escheat**. In like manner the incident of *marriage* is not to be looked for in the power of the

* Millar's elegant and ingenious Account of the Origin of the Distinction of Ranks.

master to make his slave espouse whom, or at what time, he appointed. He did something similar for the propagation of his herds and flocks. Considered as having no property but what depended on the good-will of their owners, we need not search among them for *wardships*, *non-entries*, or *aids*. Nor does any relation of a feudal nature seem to have subsisted between the Sovereign and his nobility. He was as absolute over them, as they were over the labourers of the ground. If he wanted to recruit or augment his army, he told the rulers of certain districts the number of men he wanted, and they were bound to supply them. In cases of great emergency, no doubt, they mustered all their vassals, and this force has been termed a militia: it is manifest, however, that it could only be employed for defence, and that other forces were necessary for the wars waged at a distance, and the extensive conquests achieved by the Czars. As we have nothing, therefore, in the early accounts of this country, corresponding to the *military service* in the west of Europe, the Russian history, if I mistake not, furnishes few instances of the judicial combat, nor of the manners and customs
flowing

flowing from such practice or institution. Neither have I found any thing in the early state of this country that has the appearance of an assembly of chieftains, met together for the purposes of enacting laws, administering justice, or of deciding concerning the expediency of peace and war. The Senate, as it is termed, seems to me to have been originally no other than a certain number of leading men, nominated by the Sovereign, to assist him in his deliberations. But what clearly shews that feudal customs were never very much known in Russia, is the manner in which a man's family succeeded to his estate. The right of *primogeniture*, till of late, was never much recognized or regarded. The wife generally succeeded to one-fourth part of a moveable subject, and one-seventh, or one-eighth, of immoveables. The husband, in like manner, succeeded to the fortune of his wife; and if she had no children, the remainder of her effects was divided among her relations. In these particulars, however, I suspect there is some inaccuracy. I suspect the interests of the wife, in such a division, would be little attended to. But, as Herodotus says, with regard to circumstances in his narrative,

which seemed to himself rather strange, I tell you what I was told. Each of the daughters in a family succeeded to a portion equal to half what the widow received; and all the rest was divided equally among the sons. If this was the case in early times, you will observe that it tended directly to destroy an hereditary nobility; and so contributed in the most obvious manner to increase the power of the Sovereign.

There is so great a difference, according to the views now suggested, between the manners, customs, and political constitutions of the Russians, and other nations of Christendom, that I mention them with the utmost diffidence. I believe I am founded in the account I have given you; I have no theory to serve by the things now mentioned; yet you may set them down, if you please, under the head of conjecture. Two particulars, however, I must subjoin; the one in favour of what I have suggested, and the other rather inimical.

I. I am apt to think, that the full completion of the feudal system, as it arose in the west
of

of Europe, is a singularity in the history of mankind; and particularly in the history of those nations that have any pretensions to improvement. The great empires of Assyria, Chaldea, and Persia, if we make due allowances for difference of climate, present nearly the same appearance with the sovereignty of the Czar, or Velike Knez. Their Emperors commanded great armies, which enabled them not only to make extensive conquests, but to extend their authority at home; and their nobility resided either in the metropolis, in Nineveh, Babylon, or Susa; or in the fenced cities of the provinces. The government of the provinces was altogether military. I am inclined therefore to view the Russian state as a great oriental empire: and if I may trust certain symptoms in the character of the nation and its rulers, notwithstanding the efforts made by Peter the Great and the present Empress, to give it some resemblance to other European states, for they are the only Potentates who have really made the attempt, it will again return, I will not say relapse, into its former oriental condition.

2. The other circumstance to be mentioned is, that feudal customs are asserted by grave authority to prevail not only in the neighbourhood of Russia, but even in some districts that are now provinces of the Russian empire. An ingenious French Writer, the author of an Essay on Public Happiness, expresses himself in the following manner:—" We have
 " still in the Ukraine a striking example of
 " the feudal government in all its purity,
 " and such as it must have been in the be-
 " ginning. The Czars gave this province
 " to the Cossacks, on condition that they
 " should improve it, and be ready to
 " render them what services they should re-
 " quire. Military forms and regulations
 " were in place of every other rule or insti-
 " tution. The province is divided into seve-
 " ral regiments, which form so many dis-
 " tricts. One company makes a village,
 " subject to a Captain, who is under the Co-
 " lonel, who resides in the city. The Het-
 " man resides in a sort of capital, which is
 " no other than a camp, where he always
 " keeps in his pay a certain number of in-
 " fantry and of cavalry. The rest labour
 " and cultivate the ground, on no other con-
 " dition

†

"dition than that, whenever there is any
 "need for them, they shall appear in arms."

According to this account, no doubt, there is in the Ukraine an appearance of feudal institutions. But, as was hinted above, the principles, so to say, of feudality may be found in all nations; among the Romans, in the relation of Patrons and Clients; among the Greeks, at the siege of Troy; in Mexico, when that country was subdued by Cortes; in Otaheite, and the South Sea Islands. Nor has the above quoted Author asserted that the particular incidents of the feudal system, and which give it its peculiar character, are to be met with among the Cossacks. I confess, though the outlines of the system may be traced among them, I doubt much whether they ever had it in its full completion.

At present the Ukraine may be considered as in all respects a Russian province. It has no pretensions to independence. The title of Hetman is in some measure abolished. Count Rosamoufky, the present Hetman, is more commonly known by the title of Marischal than of Hetman. He was raised
 to

to his office by the Sovereign of Russia, and may be removed at the Empress's pleasure. He resides in a splendid palace at St. Petersburg, and exhibits all the indolent magnificence and gorgeous luxury of a Magabazus, or Artabazus, or any other Persian Satrap in the reigns of Darius or Artaxerxes. I have been informed that the peasants in the Ukraine, who were not, as in Russia, attached to the lands they laboured, the sole property of their masters, and to be bought and sold at their pleasure, but might hire their services on any estate, or to whom they chose, have lately undergone a deplorable change, and have been reduced, by an edict of the present Empress, to the condition of her other Russian subjects.

You will perhaps infer from the foregoing account, that Russia was, in early times, in a more improved state than the Tartar and other nations in its vicinity. You will be apt too, to ask the reason. I am afraid, however, I can give you no farther satisfaction on this subject, than to say, that the difference must have arisen from difference of soil and climate. The southern and eastern parts of Russia, especially

especially about the banks and mouths of the many great rivers by which this empire is so abundantly watered, are exceedingly fertile, and capable of the highest improvement. This, therefore, along with some other circumstances, determined the inhabitants of this country to sow corn and build towns, while their Scythian, Laponian, and Tartarean neighbours led a wandering and fugitive life. In like manner, those who lived in former ages by the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, cultivated the ground, and were exposed to the depredations of those savages who issued from the wilds of Arabia, the fastnesses of Mount Taurus, or the deserts of Caucasus.

LETTER XLVI.

Concerning the Causes that Duelling and Single Combat have not been so usual in Russia as in other Countries in Europe.

DEAR SIR,

THE Russians are not addicted to duelling. Persons of fashion, in so far as I can learn, do not appeal to the sword, either to revenge an affront, or to vindicate their honour. In this respect also, the manners of the Russians differ from those of other nations in Christendom. The circumstance is indeed so singular, that you will be inclined to ask how it happens.

It occurs immediately, in considering this subject, that we hear of no duels among the Romans, Greeks, Jews, Persians, or any people of antiquity; nor even among the moderns, if we except the Europeans and their descendants. That contests between two persons,

sons, even bloody contests, and terminating in death, have not existed in all times and places since the days of Cain and Abel, is not asserted. I only assert, that we have no evidence that the judicial combat ever existed, or gave rise to the modern duel, but among European nations. By no other people, in so far as I have heard, was ever personal valour made the test of truth; or a matter of fact proved by the sword; or the will of heaven supposed to be revealed by the death or victory of a combatant in single combat. But among our eastern and northern progenitors, even in very early times, conflicts, having such singular importance annexed to them, were not unusual. Frothon, a very ancient Scandinavian Prince, declared by edict, "that it
" was better to terminate differences by arms
" than by argument; and by blows than by
" words." This doctrine was very readily and very generally embraced. Rotharis, King of the Lombards, who was the first in his nation that formed a regular system, or code of laws, and who borrowed nothing, as we are told, from strangers, but only collected and renewed the unwritten laws of his fathers, enacted, "that if a man, possessing
" lands,

“lands, or any kind of property, were accused of holding them unjustly, he might assert his right by single combat.” Such edicts might be expected from the descendants of those who, according to the accounts both of Cæsar and Paterculus, determined the most sacred rights, and succession to the most important offices, by the sword. About thirty years after Rotharis, Grimoald, his successor, boasted of having reformed his system. A King of the Burgundians also, at a very early period, enacted, that the single combat might be used as lawful evidence. The Goths, and other nations, who settled in lands that had been much occupied by the Romans, became, in this respect, milder than their brethren of the north. Hence King Theodoric, according to Cassiodorus, proposed them as a pattern to be followed by his subjects in Hungary, and in the regions along the Danube. “Why,” says he, “have recourse to single combat, since the judges in my dominions are incapable of being venal. Meddle not with arms but against your foes; and in this respect follow the Goths.”—“Universis barbaris, &c. per Pannoniam constitutis. Res parva non vos
“ducat

" ducat ad extrema discrimina. Acquiescite
 " iustitia qua mundus lætatur. Cur ad Mo-
 " nomachiam recurritis qui venalem judicem
 " non habetis. Deposite ferrum qui non
 " habetis inimicum, &c. Quid opus est
 " homini lingua si causam manus agat ar-
 " mata? Aut unde pax esse creditur, si sub
 " civilitate pugnetur? Imitamini certè
 " Gothos nostros qui foris prælia, intus no-
 " runt exercere modestiam."

In explaining the reasons of a difference
 so remarkable between the manners of the
 Romans, to whom I shall chiefly appeal on
 the present occasion, and the ancestors of
 some modern European states, you will pro-
 bably be able also to discern the reason of
 the similar difference between them and the
 Russians. Whence then has it arisen?—In
 attending to the subject, you will perhaps
 agree with me, that three circumstances re-
 specting the *dress*, *government*, and *supersti-*
tion of the nations, concerning whom we are
 treating, have, by their joint operation, pro-
 duced this curious effect. Disunited, no one
 of them apart from the rest could have done
 it; but by combining their powers, and by
 exerting

exerting them in the same direction, they have given rise to this singular difference. I will endeavour, in this view, to illustrate those three particulars; and if in this discussion I offend your patience, let me crave the indulgence of a friend.

I. We have the testimony of several ancient authors, historians as well as poets and orators, that neither the Romans nor the Greeks, nor indeed any nation of antiquity, unless in very rude times, used offensive arms as a part of their dress; nor indeed upon any other occasion than that of actual engagement with an enemy. Our information concerning the Romans, is apprehended to be no less apposite than decisive. No Roman who was not a soldier was allowed to carry arms. Even those who were enrolled in the legion, were not entrusted with offensive weapons, but in the time or instant expectation of battle. The arms of the army, when they were encamped, were carefully deposited near the Prætorium, and were not to be used, nor put into the hands of the soldiery, but by the express order or leave of the Commander in Chief. "Accedunt insuper
"hostes

“hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse, non pug-
 “nare consules cognitum est. Quippe im-
 “pune insultaturos. *Non credi militi ar-*
 “*ma**.” When Turnus Herdonius was
 charged by Tarquin, in a general meeting of
 the Latins, with a design against his life, the
 proof was, that he was possessed of arms. A
 search was instantly made: arms were found
 in his custody: they had been conveyed pri-
 vately to his lodging by the partizans of Tar-
 quin; and he was of consequence accounted
 guilty. “Non dubitare si vera deferantur
 “quin primâ luce, ubi ventum in concilio sit,
 “instructus cum conjuratorum manu, arma-
 “tusque venturus sit. Eunt, inclinatis qui-
 “dem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi gla-
 “diis deprehensis, cætera vana existimatura†.”
 In times of peace, or during any cessation of
 hostilities, the arms, even of those soldiers
 who had been recently engaged, or were
 about to engage in warfare, were taken from
 them, and deposited in the armory ‡. Add
 to this, that no person was allowed to fabri-
 cate arms, either in the city or in the pro-

* Liv. l. iii. ca. 45.

† Liv. l. i. c. 58.

‡ Petiscus. Servius

vinces, without the permission or authority of the state*. Virginius, who came directly from the army to save his daughter from dishonour, does not appear to have been armed even with a sword; but put her to death with a butcher's knife. "Ab Ianio cultro arrepto, hoc te uno quo possum, ait, modo, filia in libertatem vindico." Pectus deinde "Puellæ transfigit†." — The Senators of Great Britain, like their German ancestors, when they meet in their legislative assembly, appear in arms; but the Roman Senators, who put Cæsar to death, armed themselves secretly for that particular purpose; nor had Cæsar any weapon to defend himself with, but an iron pen seized suddenly from the hand of a clerk‡. It was certainly owing to the regulations, which hindered the Romans in the city from wearing arms, that for many centuries before the time of the Gracchi, notwithstanding the tumults and violent contests between the Patricians and Plebeians, excepting in two or three instances, there was little bloodshed, and no life ever lost.

* Petisus. † Liv. l. 3. c. 48. ‡ Suetonius.

But in this respect, the practice of the Germans, according to the accounts given us by Tacitus, was very different. Armour constituted a part of their dress. In all public meetings, and in all deliberative assemblies, even in times of the profoundest peace, they never met but in arms. The consequence was, that in all disputes and dissensions they appealed to the sword, as to a prompt and decisive umpire. Impatient of contradiction, passionate and furious, as men in an early state of society; high-minded, courageous, and expert in arms, as the progenitors of the French and English, they proceeded to instant conflict. "Tum ad negotia nec
 " minus sæpe ad convivia procedunt ar-
 " mati crebræ rixæ, raro conviciis, sæpius
 " cæde et vulneribus transfiguntur."—Not only was this practised by the Germans in the times of Tacitus, Paterculus, and Cæsar, but was continued long after. The posterity of the Germans, when they became a mighty people, and were divided into various states, went in armour, not only to their parliaments and public councils, but to their visits and private meet-
 C c 2 ings.

ings*. Indeed, no race of men, so far advanced in improvement, continued this practice so long as the ancestors of the nations in the west and north of Europe. Yet the custom is so peculiar, and must necessarily have been of so much influence in the common intercourse of life, that we need not be surprised, if it should distinguish the people, among whom it prevailed, with the most peculiar usages and institutions. Indeed the wonder would be, supposing such a difference to subsist between two nations, the Romans, for example, and the descendants of the antient Germans, if its consequences, in a variety of remarkable circumstances, did not diversify their manners, and render them dissimilar. Hence not only the duel and judicial combat, but the jousts and tournaments, that make so great a figure in the history of modern Europe.

II. It is obvious, that such excesses as those mentioned in the passage from Tacitus, tended to injure, and even ruin such small communities as German tribes; and called upon

* A View of Society in Europe, by Dr. Gilbert Stuart: a work to be studied by all who would really understand Tacitus's Treatise of Ancient Germany.

the rulers to interpose every means of prevention. The loss which the State sustained by the death of intrepid leaders; the tumults occasioned by such outrageous dissention; and the lasting enmity between different families, disseminated by sudden acts of violence, were in the number of those calamities that arose from furious and irregular strife. The rulers, therefore, were much interested in having them softened, or entirely prevented. But how was this to be done? Not surely by positive and express prohibition. The powers of government were then so weak, that such prohibition, opposed to the furious passions of valiant men, were of little effect. “Nec regibus infinita, aut libera potestas: et duces exemplo potius, quam imperio, &c. præfunt*.” “Their Kings have not an absolute or unlimited power; and their Generals command less through force of authority than of example.”

In order, therefore, to prevent misfortunes of the kind above-mentioned, the rulers of States betook themselves to other means than direct prohibition. They said to the angry

* Tacitus.

persons, who would terminate their dissensions by violence, "Do as you please; fight if you will; but have respect for the meeting: let not the business of a public deliberation be cast into disorder by your disagreement: nay, do justice to yourselves: let no one take advantage of another: go forth to an open place: use proper weapons: and let each of you carry along with him an equal number of friends, to assist you in so far as may be consistent with honour, and be the faithful witnesses of your valour."—In all this there was nothing that opposed their passions: nay, their self-importance was in some degree flattered. Meantime delay was obtained: by the good offices of friends their anger might be appeased: at any rate, the mischiefs arising from outrageous discord were lessened; and as the person who fell would seem to have met with sufficient justice, the resentment of his adherents would be assuaged.

The disposition of rulers, in early times, to prevent violence by indirect means, and even by a seeming compliance with the angry passions of those they governed, when their real design

design was to counteract and oppose them, is well illustrated by the methods practised by some Indian nations, in punishing murder. They are mentioned particularly by Lafitau; and their chief object seems to have been, to appease the resentment of those who would feel themselves incited to avenge the death of a friend. The criminal was obliged to give sixty presents; nine of these were given to the friends of the deceased, and the rest were suspended over the dead body. Some of them were said to be given to make the tomahawk fall from the hand of vengeance; some to wipe the wounds of the dead; and others to console his friends and relations.

III. Another circumstance, which, along with the preceding, tended to produce the judicial combat, and particularly the formalities of that custom among a rude people, so situated as the ancient Germans and their descendants, was their proneness to superstition. Their gods, as they believed, were interested in their fortunes; and, of consequence, were interested in nothing so much concerning them, as what related to their life or death. Hence they regarded the single combat as an

appeal to the justice of the Beings they worshipped; or an infallible method to prevail with them to reveal their will to mankind. Thus every such conflict implied a sort of tacit convention with the præternatural objects of divine adoration; and the appeal to heaven constituted a striking feature of this singular custom. The disposition to believe that the Gods announced promises of protection, and consequently their opinion concerning the justice of any cause, by the success of a combatant in single combat, appeared so early as among the nations described by Tacitus. "Ejus gentis cum qua bellum est
 "captivum quoquo modo interceptum, eum
 "electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque
 "armis committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur." "They oblige a prisoner, taken by any means whatsoever from the nation with whom they are at variance, to fight with a picked man of their own, each with his country arms; and according as the victory falls, they presage success to one or the other party."

As the single combat was thus considered as a demand on heaven to interpose in behalf

half of truth or innocence, it was conducted with religious solemnity. Moreover, as the Gods could not be supposed to favour falsehood or injustice, a person's proneness in calling the sword to witness, was held a symptom of his integrity: his success was regarded as incontestible evidence in his favour: and thus personal valour, supported by skill in arms, became, in some measure, the test of truth. The propagation of Christianity, by a strange perversion, contributed to give the custom stability. By the doctrines of that benign religion, the Deity was represented as inclined to interpose, in a very particular manner, in behalf of integrity, and as regarding deviations from truth with peculiar displeasure. From the misapplication of those opinions, by the grossest and most arrogant superstition, the Supreme Being had a method prescribed to him for the display of his authority; and was required to manifest his justice within the lists of the single combat. The manners of men became gradually more improved: government acquired vigour; offences were restrained or punished by positive laws: the judicial combat, like the fiery ordeal, was no longer appealed

pealed to; and so went into disuse. But a connection had been formed between valour and truth: it was cherished by the ardent spirits of impetuous men: they wore arms to defend their honour: it was natural they should feel resentment against those who impeached their veracity: and girt with a sword, it was no less natural that the sword should express their resentment. Thus, though the judicial combat was discontinued, it left us its representative, the modern duel. I am aware of the distinction between the single combat, considered as an institution of honour, and an institution of civil polity*; nor does it seem inconsistent with the foregoing observations.

Upon the whole, the northern nations wore arms on all occasions, and in periods of considerable improvement; the Romans seldom: the powers of government among the northern nations were weak; among the Romans strong: and these circumstances, along with superstition, a quality of which all men, as well Romans as Huns and Lombards, have always possessed quantity enough

* Dr. Stuart's View of Society.

for producing such *valuable* institutions as judicial combats and fiery ordeals, explains the difference above stated; and apply, with propriety enough to the singularity in the manners of the Russians, which has imposed the task upon you of reading this tedious Letter. If am not misinformed, the Russians, excepting the guard of the Veliké Knez, and the standing army, were not accustomed to appear in arms. No abuses, therefore, arising from the promiscuous use of military accoutrements, called either for the direct or indirect interposition of government. The judicial combat, and consequently the duel of honour, never existed among them. But as the fashions of Europe, and particularly those of France, are making progress among the natives of this country, some persons among them who affect patriotism, express their expectations, that they will soon have the credit of blowing out one another's brains in the easiest and politest manner. Adieu.

L E T T E R XLVII.

English Players in Russia—Prologue on opening an English Theatre at St. Petersburg.

DEAR SIR, St. Petersburg, Feb. 12. 1771.

YOU will be surprised to hear, that we have got at St. Petersburg an English Playhouse. A Company of Players arrived here in the end of autumn. They were advised, you may be sure, to return home without loss of time; they chuse, however, to make their home, at least for one winter, in Russia, and trust to the well known humanity of their countrymen in the Gallerinhoff. Accordingly, with great diligence, and much tinsel, they furbished up an old barn into the likeness of a theatre; and that every thing might be as complete as possible, they had in it, not only a seat for the British Ambassador, but boxes for the Great Duke and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias. So, on the first

first night that the theatre was opened, all their countrymen came to them, to give them charity, and to laugh, as might have been expected, at the Tragedy of Douglas. But instead of laughing, they cried. The part of Douglas was performed by a female player with inimitable pathos. The audience were surprised into the warmest applauses. The fame of this excellent performance was spread through the city; and for two or three successive evenings the theatre was crowded with Russians and Germans as well as English. On the fourth night of the representation, just as the play began, the door of the Empress's box was unexpectedly opened; and her Majesty, without having given any previous warning, took possession of her seat. You may easily imagine how much we were pleased and flattered with this mark of her Majesty's confidence and condescension. This was still more the case, when, in answer to some apology that had been conveyed to her, about the badness of the accommodation, she replied, "that, among the English, she was quite at ease." In order, however, to remedy the real inconveniences of the situation, and

and to testify still farther her *present* partiality to our nation, she ordered a better theatre to be prepared; and on occasion of opening it, the player who had drawn so much attention, delivered the following Prologue:

WITHOUT the aid of ornament or art,
To speak the language of a grateful heart,
I come respectful. Little known to fame,
Thro' stormy seas to distant shores we came;
And to us, Britons, in a foreign land,
Britons extended the protecting hand:
Friendless we came; but every British heart
In all our interests took a friendly part.
Fair fame attend you! O may due success
Reward your merit and your labours blest!
Kind as ye are, and generous, may ye still
Enjoy the power, as ye possess the will!

The Rulers of this land beheld, with joy,
How British hearts on British hearts rely:
How Albion's sons, incapable of change,
Thro' no variety of friendships range:
Kind without interest, with affection true,
Gen'rous and constant where their faith is due.

The Rulers of this land, whose hosts defied
The rage of Infidels, and quell'd their pride;
Made Kahul's streams with slaughter'd foes run
red; (dead;
Heap'd Bender's walls with thousands of the
Undaunted

Undaunted in the gallant strife of arms,
Even to Byzantium carried dire alarms;
Ting'd the Ægæan wave with Ottoman gore,
And shook with terror Asia's distant shore;
They saw your goodness, felt it, and were mov'd
To emulate the worth their souls approv'd:
This gen'rous sympathy their favour drew;
Us they applauded, but they honour'd—You.

With unexampled goodness from the Throne
The radiance of th' Imperial bounty shone,
Beam'd glory round us, rais'd us from the ground,
And bade us bloom, and bade our fruits abound.
Far thro' the nations may that radiance blaze,
The good to cherish, and the meek to raise;
To foster merit, from the haunts of men
To banish Discord, and her ghastly train:
Envy shall pine and sicken at the sight;
And Turkish crescents mingle with the night.

LETTER XLVIII.

*Copy of a Letter from Count Orloff to Rousseau,
with the Answer.*

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you inclosed what I am persuaded you will consider as a literary curiosity: a letter sent by Count Orloff to the famous Rousseau; and another from that strange citizen of the world in return.

*Copie d'une Lettre de Mons. le Comte D'Orloff
en Russie, à Mons. J. J. Rousseau en Angle-
terre.*

MONSIEUR,

Dec. 1766.

VOUS ne serez point étonné que je vous écrive, car vous savez que les hommes sont inclins aux singularités. Vous avez les vôtres; j'ai les miennes: cela est dans l'ordre: le motif de cette lettre ne l'est pas moins.

Je

Je vous vois depuis long-tems aller, d'un endroit à l'autre. J'en fais les raisons par les voies publiques ; et peut-être, les fai je mal : parcequ'elles peuvent être fausses. Je vous crois en Angleterre chez le Duc de Richmond, et je suppose que vous y êtes bien : cependant il m'a pris fantaisie de vous dire, que j'ai une terre éloignée de soixante verstes de St. Petersburg, ce qui fait de dix lieux d'Allemagne, où l'air est sain, l'eau admirable, les coteaux qui entourent differents lacs, forment de promenades agréables très propres à rever ; les habitans n'entendent ni l'Anglois ni la Francoise ; encore mois la Grec et la Latine. Le curè ne fait point, disputer ni precher ; et les ovaïles, en faisant le signe de la croix, croient bonnement que tout est dit. Hé bien, Monsieur, si jamais ce lieu là est à votre gout, vous pouvez y venir de demeurer. Vous auriez la necessaire, si vous la voulez. Si non, vous auriez de la chasse, et de la pêche. Si vous voulez avoir à qui parler pour vous désengager, vous le pourrez : mais en tout, et sur tout, vous n'essuyerez aucune genè sur rien ; ni n'auriez aucune obligation à personne. De plus, toute publicité sur se séjour, si vous sauhaitiez, pourroit être evitee : et

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dans ce dernier cas, vous ferez bien, selon moi, si vous pouvez supporter la mer, de faire le trajet par eau. Aussi bien les curieux vous importuneront moins sur ce chemin, que sur la route de terre.

Voilà, Monsieur, ce que je me suis crû endroit de mander, d'après la reconnoissance que je vous ai, pour les instructions que j'ai prise dans vos livres, quoique ils ne fussent pas écrits pour moi. Je suis, Monsieur, avec beaucoup de respect, V. S. &c.

LA REPONSE.

Le 23^{me} de Fevrier, à Hatton.

VOUS vous donnez, Monsieur le Comte, pour avoir des singularités. En effèt, ce'n est presque une d'être bienfaisant sans interet: et c'en est une bien plus grande, de l'être de si loin, pour quelqu'un qu'on ne connoit pas. Vos obligéantes offres, le ton dont vous me les avez fait, et la description de l'habitation que vous me destinez, seroient assurément très capable de m'y attirer; si j'étois moins

moins infirme, plus allant, plus jeune, et que vous fussiez plus près du soleil. Je craindrois d'ailleurs, qu'en voyant celui que vous honorez d'une invitation, vous n'y eussiez quelque regret : vous attendriez à une manière d'homme de lettres, un beau diseur, qui devoit payer en frais d'esprit et de paroles votre genereuse hospitalité ; et vous n'auriez qu'un bon homme bien simple, que son goût et les malheurs ont rendu fort solitaire, et que pour tout amusement herberissant toute la journée, trouve ce commerce avec les plantes, cette paix si douce à son cœur, que lui ont refusé les humains. Je n'irai donc pas, Monsieur, habiter votre maison ; mais je souviendrai toujours avec reconnoissance que vous me l'avez offerte ; et je regretterai quelque fois de n'y être pas pour cultiver les bontés, et l'amitié du maître.

Agréez, Monsieur le Comte, je vous supplie, mes remerciments très sinceres, et mes très humbles salutations.

Translation of the above Letters.

I.

YOU will not be surpris'd at my writing you ; for you know men are apt to have singularities : You have yours, and I have mine : these are things of course. My motive for writing you is not less so : I have observed you for some time going from place to place. I know the reasons of this by public rumour ; and perhaps I am misinformed, as public rumour is not always true. I believe you are now in England with the Duke of Richmond ; and I suppose that there you are happily situated. Nevertheless, I have taken it into my head to tell you, that I have an estate distant sixty versts, that is, about ten German miles, from St. Petersburg, where the air is healthy, the water admirable, and the little hills surrounding the lakes form walks very well suited for contemplation. The inhabitants are ignorant both of English and French ; and still more so of Greek and Latin. The curate can neither argue nor preach ; and his sheep, in making the sign of the

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the cross, are satisfied in good earnest that they have done all that is needful. Now, Sir, if ever this place suit your taste, you may come here and live. You shall have your wants supplied, if you chuse. If not, you shall have hunting and fishing. If you tire of solitude, and chuse conversation, it is in your power. But in all, and above all, you shall suffer restraint in nothing, and have obligations to none. Besides, your retreat may be as secret as you incline: and, in that view, I would advise you, if you can bear the voyage, to come by sea. By taking that route, you will be less teized by inquisitive persons than if you came by land.

All this, Sir, I thought my duty to tell you, out of gratitude for the instruction which your books, though they were not written on my account, have afforded me: and am, Sir, with much respect, &c.

II.

Hatton, Feb. 23.

YOU would pass, Sir, for a person who has singularities. In truth, it is a singularity

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to be beneficent without self-interest. It is much more so to be beneficent from so great a distance, and towards a person with whom you are not acquainted. Your obliging offers, the manner in which they are made, and the description of the dwelling you intend for me, would be fully sufficient to draw me thither, were I less infirm, better able to travel, and younger than I am, and if you were situated nearer the sun. Besides, I would be afraid, lest, in seeing him whom you honour with an invitation, you should feel some regret. You expect a sort of learned man, a rare talker, who ought to repay your hospitality with wit and fine speeches; and instead of this you would have but a very plain and simple man, whose taste and misfortunes have rendered very solitary; and who has no other amusement than to pass the day in herbalizing; but who finds, in conversing with plants, that peace, so pleasing to his heart, which men have refused him. I will not, therefore, go to live in the house you mention; but, Sir, I will always, with gratitude, remember the offer you have made me; and I shall sometimes regret that I am

not there to enjoy the goodness and friendship of its owner.

I intreat you, Sir, to accept of my sincerest thanks.

L E T T E R XLIX.

*Translation of an Easter Hymn, sometimes
recited in the Churches of the Greek
Communion.*

To the Reverend Dr. L——d.

REV. DEAR SIR,

YOU know that, at Easter, in churches of the Greek communion, Priests, appointed for the purpose, represent the Resurrection of our Saviour. On that occasion, I have been informed, that the following Hymn, written originally in Greek by a Bishop of Thessalonica, is sometimes sung. You will easily observe, that it is intended to be recited in the interval between the burial and the resurrection.

O WHAT an awful, awful hour,
Beheld our Saviour die !
The Sun, in dire eclipse, withdrew
His radiance from the sky.

The

The waters of the troubled deep
To their abyſſes fled :
The mountains, and the ſolid earth,
Shook with exceſſive dread.

Amazement was in heav'n ! But who
The ſolemn myſ't'ry ſaw,
That ſtruck, ev'n in the heav'n of heavens,
Angelic hoſts with awe ?

At that tremendous, awful hour,
The gates of heav'n were clos'd :
The fabric of the rolling ſpheres
With conſternation paus'd.

Meantime what deeds were done on earth !
Deeds of atrocious ſtrife !
The powers of Death and Darkneſs ſtrove
Againſt the Lord of Life !

And conquer'd—as they vainly deem'd !
Nor, in their frenzy, knew,
That they ſhould, by that heinous act,
Their own rebellion rue.

The darkneſs flies away ! the gates
Of heaven are open'd wide !
And ſudden, from the ſapphire throne,
Burſts an effulgent tide.

Emerging

Emerging from the cloud of light,
With beaming harps, behold !
In bright attire, the Seraphin
Their radiant forms unfold.

On high their loud hosannas flow :
Messiah's praise they sing :
The nether orbs resume their speed,
And with hosannas ring.

" Messiah triumphs," they proclaim,—
" Tho' in the grave he lies,
" Soon will he burst the bonds of Death,
" And reascend the skies.

" Ten thousand thousand angels then
" Shall join the vocal lay ;
" And hail, triumphant, his return
" To everlasting day !

" To Him a crown of majesty
" Amid the hosts of heaven,
" Shall by Jehova be with power
" And wide dominion given.

" Far thro' the starry realms of space
" Blazing with beams of gold,
" His banner, at the gate of heaven,
" An angel shall unfold.

" Then

- “ Then pealing with tremendous voice
The Seraph of the Sun,
“ Shall, as *his* flames expires, proclaim
“ Messiah’s reign begun.
- “ Rous’d by that voice, in white array,
“ His Elect to the sky
“ Shall soar, and reign with glory crown’d
“ In realms of blest on high.
- “ Glory to God, and to the Son,
“ And to the Spirit pure !
“ Their justice, goodness, and their power,
“ Forever shall endure.”

LETTER L.

The Seraskier of Bender.

DEAR SIR,

July 10th, 1771.

IT is said here, that, except Constantinople, no city in Europe contains a greater variety of strangers than St. Petersburg. In London and Paris you have Europeans of all nations; but you have not, additionally to these, different races of Tartars, Circassians, and Armenians.—The most beautiful Circassian I have seen here is the wife of an Armenian merchant; and her beauty seems of a kind somewhat singular. She is most gracefully formed; but has not the least tint of complexion: nor does she imitate the Russian ladies, in summoning art to the assistance of nature. Her skin is as white as the driven snow; it is so transparent, as to shew the purple veins underneath; her features display the beauties of Helen; her eyes are deep

deep blue ; her eye-brows exquisite ; and her hair, flowing over her ivory neck, is as black as the wing of a raven. This species of beauty, however, does not distinguish all the Circassians I have seen ; some of them have black eyes, and a ruddy complexion.

In consequence of the number of strangers in St. Petersburg, many persons speak a variety of different languages : nor would even the ladies think you were calling them bad names, if you were to say they were Polyglots. The English ladies here speak French, German, and Russ, and some of them Italian. Their other graces and accomplishments are proportioned to their gift of tongues.

The variety of strangers here is diversified at present, by the addition of a great many Turkish prisoners. They are remarkably well used ; and go about the city with a great deal of freedom. The most distinguished personage among them is the Seraskier, who behaved so gallantly in the defence of Bender. He is an Emir ; that is, a descendant of Mahomet ; and, as a mark of his high lineage, the colour of his robe is green. The fashion
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of his dress, excepting that he wears a turban, is the same as that of the Hospodar of Wallachia. But he is a different person from the Hospodar. Gregorio Giko is rather tall, and of a dignified appearance : the Seraskier is little, meagre, marked with the small-pox, and of a mean appearance. But he is as valiant as the edge of his sabre, steady to his trust, active in the discharge of his duty, and determined in his tenor of conduct. Though conquered, and a captive, he is not subdued ; but exhibits an unyielding, and even contemptuous sternness, that surprises his conquerors. He insisted on having a numerous attendance of Turks, including a part of his seraglio, and a person of small stature, who displays the antic gestures of a buffoon : his requisition was immediately granted. A Russian nobleman asked him to his house : " I am your prisoner," he replied ; " you may do with me what you please ; you may cut off my head, if you will : but if I am free to go to your house, or not ; I will *not* go."—One of his bashaws gave a blow with his fist to a Russian officer. The officer complained to his General ; and the General asked the Seraskier, " what would have been done to a
" Russian

“ Russian at Constantinople, who should have
“ behaved in that manner to a Turk?”

“ They would have strangled him,” he replied. But the Turk was not strangled.—

The Seraskier, however, paid a visit, at his house in the country, to the British Ambassador. He came on horse-back, with his green flowing garment, and his horse most sumptuously caparisoned. He spoke little; for, soon after his sitting down, one of his attendants brought him a very long tobacco-pipe, and he continued smoking all the time of his visit. His buffoon appears very often in parti-coloured garments in the streets of the city; and endeavours, by his drolleries, to amuse the passengers. The Turks themselves appear so grave and solemn, that it is really amusing to see a Turkish buffoon.—
Adieu.

LETTER LI.

Abstract of a Russian Catechism.

To the Reverend ———.

REV. DEAR SIR,

August 1771.

I MENTIONED to you, that the Russian Clergy were, for the most part, very ignorant. I also suggested, that this general censure was not to be received without limitation; and that among them were some persons of learning, and of great moderation. Some attempts have been made of a very laudable nature, to disseminate among the people correct and enlarged sentiments of religion. Of this kind is a Catechism, which, in many passages, not only breathes a liberal and pious spirit; but is composed with much simplicity, both of language and manner. You are so much a friend to any thing good, on subjects of such importance, that I persuade

suade myself, you will receive with pleasure the following abstract of this performance. Besides, in some of the explanations, you will, perhaps, find some allusions to the manners of the country, that will make you smile.

The Russian Catechism is divided into Three Parts. The First treats of Natural Religion; the Second, of Revealed; and the Third, of the Divine Laws.

P A R T I.

IN the First Part are considered the being and nature of God; the creation of the world, and its preservation; and the duty which man owes to God as his creator and governor. The proofs of the existence of God, are urged from the contemplation of the world; from the general consent of all mankind; from the testimony of conscience; and from the innate desire of the soul after perfection. Assuming the necessary existence of God as a principle, from it are deduced his unity, eternity, immateriality, immortality, spirituality, and consequently his wisdom, truth, justice, E c goodnes,

goodness, and all his other moral qualities; The creation of the world is then briefly treated of; and the following account given us of the origin of evil:—Every thing is said to be created by God's wisdom; nevertheless the best things may be abused; a sword may be used to slay the innocent, and the human understanding may be employed in guile. Man is said to have been made after the image of God, with a natural propensity to good, and aversion to evil. The providence of God is also asserted; and that the utility resulting to mankind, from the knowledge of God and of ourselves, consists in begetting in us confidence in God, and resignation to his will; in strengthening our moral principles, and in disposing us to worship God. The worship of God is said to be twofold; interior, consisting in love, fear, veneration, and gratitude to God; and, exterior, consisting in the external forms of devotion. Conscience, however, is said to inform us, that our utmost efforts to fulfil the will of God are imperfect; and that our only hope is in his mercy. No mention of original sin.

P A R T II.

TREATING of Revealed Religion, it is observed, that the light of nature is not alone sufficient for our salvation; that salvation is only had by the gospel, which contains the joyful tidings of our redemption; that religion is the receiving the gospel in our hearts; that the great truths of the gospel are contained in the Old and New Testament, and are summarily contained in the Apostles Creed; that by it we are instructed in all the great doctrines of Christianity; that God is one in essence, but consists of three persons, the Father eternal, the Son, begot by the Father before all ages, and the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father; all three to be equally adored: that faith in Christ is of infinite use, by calming the terrors of conscience, and representing God as merciful as well as just; that it must be an active faith, turning us to repentance and the true worship of God; that all those who truly believe, constitute the church; that those who belong to the church, are initiated by baptism; a mysterious rite, by which the soul is washed from sin; that the Eucharist is another rite,

by which we testify our faith, and by eating bread and wine, mysteriously converted into the body and blood of Christ, receive great spiritual advantages, and oblige ourselves to live in union with the church; and that the care of imparting the Eucharist is committed to the clergy; that the church possesses other sacraments, unction at baptism, and extreme unction; that it hath other institutions for the sake of good order; and, finally, that all who act according to the gospel, and believe, shall rise to immortal life; and that all who act in a contrary manner, shall be eternally punished.

P A R T III.

CONCERNING the subjects of the laws of God, it is asserted, that faith, without works, is ineffectual; that we must not only believe, but act agreeably to the law of God; that the will of God is contained in the Decalogue; that those who sin against the first commandment, are atheists; Epicureans, rejecting Providence; polytheists; forcerers, who divine by dreams, who observe omens, and ascribe sanctity to certain dresses and ton-
5 fures;

tures; heretics and schismatics; and those who depend for all their welfare on their wealth or on human aid: that the invocation of saints is not forbid by this commandment, because they are invoked as intercessors with God and Christ. God is said to be the master, and they are his principal servants; but that it is sinful to honour them in their festivals equally with God. That the second commandment is transgressed by those who worship graven images; by usurers and profligates; by hypocrites, who think they worship God by penances and festivity; by superstitious people, who pretend to have intercourse with ghosts; and, briefly, by all those who hope to gain God's love otherwise than by faith and good works. That it is not sinful to have pictures of Christ and of the saints, for the pictures are not themselves worshipped, they only aid the memory and imagination; but this practice is liable to be perverted to idolatry. That the third commandment is transgressed by blasphemers, perjured persons, habitual swearers, false prophets, and by those who make indecent requests to God. That the fourth commandment enjoins the observance of the Sabbath,

and of festivals on religious occasions ; particularly it enjoins rest from labour, and the going to church to pray ; it enjoins the giving charity, the giving for the support of the church and its ministers, for hospitals, schools, and for the care of strangers and prisoners ; that all those who act otherwise, whether laity or ecclesiastics, either through impiety, or negligence, or wantonness, or profligacy, or avarice, transgress the commandment. That the fifth commandment enjoins reverence and obedience to parents, rulers, clergy, teachers, benefactors, and old men ; that the duty of parents is to educate and instruct their children ; the duty of children is to support their parents ; and to act in like manner in all the other relations above-mentioned ; that the duty of sovereigns is to procure peace and happiness to their subjects, to maintain justice, to punish the guilty, and reward the deserving ; to support the clergy, and be as fathers to their people ; that the duty of subjects is to love their sovereigns next to God,—to obey them without complaint, to pay tribute, and, in case of need, to give their lives for their safety ; that the duty of pastors is to instruct mildly by precept and example ; the
duty

duty of the flock to follow the shepherd with all due respect; that the duty of masters is to instruct their servants,—not to overburthen them, nor to punish them too rigorously; that the duty of servants is to fear their masters with filial fear, to obey without sloth or murmuring, to put up with their ill-humours, and defend their honour; that the duty of the husband is to love his wife, to correct her faults *gently*; the duty of the wife to love and revere her husband; that fidelity is the duty of both; that the rich are bound not to be proud nor covetous, but liberal, and that the poor are bound to be honest and industrious; that, in general, we ought to love and consult the interest of all men. Against the sixth commandment those transgress who take away life from themselves or others, or who are accessory to such crimes, by aiding or concealing the guilty; also unjust judges; those who let the poor die of cold or hunger; those who punish and oppress their servants, so as *to kill them*; and all who encourage hatred, anger, malice, envy, inhumanity, the dispositions of mind tending to the destruction of mankind. Against the seventh commandment all those transgress who are im-

pure in any manner in thought, word, or deed; and all who indulge in wanton discourse, dainty living, and debauchery, tending to encourage impurity. Against the eighth commandment all those transgress who rob, or steal; all superiors who enslave the free; force those to sell who do not chuse it; who exact more labour of workmen than they engaged for; who seize their neighbours goods, lands, &c. at their pleasure; who retain the labourers' hire; also all those who take advantage of a dearth to raise the price of provision: who exact unconscientious service of the poor in return for aiding them; all usurers; all those who, in selling, impose on the buyers, by vending damaged goods; all who rob or cheat the government or the church; all who having found what had been lost, keep it without seeking the owner; all who practise simony; who forge wills or accounts; who, being rich, pretend they are poor, that they may get charity; all hypocrites, who get money by pretending zeal; all flatterers, who get money by imposing on the weakness of others, &c. Against the ninth commandment all liars and dissemblers transgress. And the tenth commandment is a summary

a summary of the preceding ones, and prohibits us even from thinking sinfully. It is also asserted, that we cannot perform every thing required of us in these laws of ourselves, without the grace of God, which is obtained by prayer; and that our prayers ought to be formed on the model of the Lord's Prayer.

L E T T E R LII.

*Account of a Circassian Princess, the Widow
of Donduc Ambo, Chan of the Calmuck
Tartars.*

DEAR SIR,

AGREEABLY to your desire, I have perused Dr. Cook's Travels;* ; and as you wish to have my opinion concerning them, I can assure you that, in so far as my knowledge of the facts he relates, or of the manners he describes, extends, he is a writer of strict veracity. I agree with you in thinking his account of the Circassian Princess very interesting ; and also in regretting that he has not so united the different circumstances, as that the whole might be read as a continued story. I have endeavoured to supply this defect ; and from such information as I have collected here, together with his anecdotes, I have formed the following uninterrupted

* Travels and Voyages through the Russian Empire, &c.
by J. Cook, M. D.

Narrative.

Narrative. In an evening, during the bad weather, and your present solitude in the country, it may perhaps amuse you.

THE CALMUCK TARTARS inhabit, or rather frequent, that country which lies between the Caspian and Euxine Seas; bounded on the south by Circassia, on the north by the dominions of Russia, on the east by the Caspian Sea and the Volga, and on the west by the river Don and the Sea of Asoph. They have no fixed habitation, but live chiefly in tents; and subsist by depredation, or by the pasturage of cattle. They pretend they are an independent nation; yet, if they are not absolutely governed, their counsels are much influenced by the authority of the Russians.

In the reign of the Empress Anna Ivanowna, the Court of Russia, by endeavouring to prevail with the Calmucks to betake themselves to agriculture, and live in fixed habitations, wanted to reduce them to still greater subjection. In this attempt, Donduc Ambo, the Chan of the Tartars, gave them great opposition.

tion. The Russian ministry, therefore, resolved to deprive him of his sovereignty, and substitute Donduc Dashee, who, they conceived, would give them less opposition, in his place. But the wisdom and valour of the reigning prince rendered their plan abortive. He was, nevertheless, so sensible of his danger, and so justly apprehensive of the future machinations of the Russian Court, that he prevailed with his nation to leave the regions they had formerly occupied, and migrate into Cuban-Tartary. This country is situated on the south side of the Palus Mœotis or Sea of Asoph, is separated from Crimea by the Straits of Taman, and its inhabitants, the Cuban Tartars, are dependants on the Ottoman Porte.

The reception, however, which Donduc Ambo met with from the Turks, and the Tartars of Cuban, not having answered his expectations, he determined to embrace the first opportunity of re-uniting himself, on honourable terms, with Russia, and of returning to the banks of the Volga. This opportunity soon occurred. For a war having arisen between the Turks and the Russians, he

he knew that the assistance of his nation would be of great importance on either side; and offered his friendship to the Empress of Russia. An agreement took place between them: it was stipulated, that the Calmucks should return to the neighbourhood of Astracan; that Donduc Ambo should be their acknowledged sovereign; and that he should assist the Russians with forty or fifty thousand men. The Empress ratified the league by presents sent to the Calmuck Chan*.—Among these were two beautiful brass cannon, of two or three pounders, and a scymeter with a hilt of gold, studded with precious stones. He seized an early opportunity of putting his scymeter to the proof; for the Cuban Tartars, who had treated him with little friendship, during his sojourn among them, having pursued him with hostile intentions at his departure, he fell upon them with great fury, and cut off the flower of their army.

Not long after, about the time peace was concluded between the Turks and the Russians, Donduc Ambo died. On his decease,

* Dr. Cook.

the Russian Ministry resumed their favourite design of abridging the independence of the Calmuck nation. For this purpose, they again attempted to invest Donduc Dashee, whom Anna Ivanowna had maintained in a princely manner in the city of Casan, with the sovereign authority. But they met with unexpected resistance in the widow of Donduc Ambo, the former Chan.

This Princess was a Circassian of illustrious lineage; and not more distinguished for her beauty, which was eminent even in Circassia, than for her virtues. She was the mother of five children; and though they were yet in their infancy, she determined to assert their right to the sovereignty enjoyed by their father. Therefore, finding herself in danger from the ambition of Donduc Dashee, and the contrivances of the Russians, she summoned the Calmuck chiefs to her tent. She represented to them the attempt made on their independence; the unworthy conduct of Donduc Dashee, who would sacrifice the interest of his people to his ambition; the magnanimous virtues of their former Chan; his attachment to the dignity of the Calmuck nation;

nation; the helpless state of his family; and the confidence she reposed in the care they would have of her children. Her beauty, heightened by her distress, added force to her eloquence. The Tartar leaders entered warmly into her interests; and declared, that none but the progeny of Donduc Ambo should be their Sovereigns. Thus the Princess, finding herself at the head of at least forty thousand men, who had fought the battles of her husband, and were now devoted to her family, having encamped for some time nigh the banks of the Volga, retired, during the winter, to the borders of Circassia.

Meantime the Russians in the southern provinces became apprehensive of a visit from Kouli-chan, the tyrant of Persia, no less famous for his conquests, than abhorred for his cruelty. Conscious too, of their having irritated the Calmuck Princess, they were afraid, that, in case of an invasion, the Tartars would co-operate with the Persians. It was determined, therefore, that every engine should be employed to deprive her of her authority; and Donduc Dashee, with those Tartars who adhered to him, entertained the
most

most sanguine expectations of compassing their designs. For though the Empress Anna was now dead, her successor, Elizabeth, entered in this particular into her views. But the vigilant Circassian was aware of her danger. She was apprehensive lest the Cossacks on the river Don, uniting with some Circassians who had been brought over to the interests of her opponents, would either betray her into the hands of the Russians, or oblige her to relinquish her authority. She therefore withdrew, very early in the spring, to the eastern side of the Volga. Here she was in less danger of being surrounded by her adversaries; and in case of their persisting in their oppression, she could betake herself for protection to the great nation of Black Calmucks, who frequent the vast continent between the Caspian Sea and the Wall of China. She flattered herself with meeting with a more friendly reception from them, as they were probably of the same origin with the Western Calmucks, and of similar manners, particularly as to religious opinions, than her husband had experienced among the Tartars of Cuban.

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In the mean time Donduc Dashee having received many assurances that the Calmuck Princess was afraid of him, and would, on the first appearance of force, give up the contest, left Casan with an army of five thousand men, and pursued her into the desert. Having overtaken her in her march, he was advancing boldly to the Tartar camp. Here he was met by some Calmuck chiefs, who informed him, that the Princess insisted on his advancing no farther ; but that she was willing to converse with any Commissioner whom he should appoint to treat of the interests of the Calmuck nation. He accordingly sent one of his friends, acquainting her, that the Empress expected she would resign her authority to him ; and that she and her children might depend on having such provision made for them, as suited their high rank and condition. The Princess, who was only desirous of gaining time, and obtaining information concerning the force he had brought against her, answered, that it was then late, and that next morning " they should adjust their differences *." In the night she consulted with
her

* If the Calmuck Princess be thought to incur blame in this part of her conduct, and if it can be removed or lessened

her chieftains; she found them resolute; and next morning, by sun-rise, she appeared on horseback at the head of her army. She fell upon Donduc Dashee. His five thousand men made a gallant defence; but, overpowered by numbers, the greatest part of them were put to the sword. Intelligence of this fatal conflict was brought to Astracan by a Tartar attached to Donduc Dashee. He was a person of some distinction: had with him neither bow nor scymeter, nor any other weapon than a battle-axe*. He shed a torrent of tears; and said, his friends and the Calmuck Prince were certainly slain.

Vasilee Nikitits Tatishoff was at that time Governor of Astracan. He was a consummate politician; and had distinguished himself at the accession of the Empress Anna, by baffling the designs of the Russian noblemen, who wanted to impose some terms on their Sovereign, and restrict her power. He was indeed well suited to promote the views of an absolute Prince. Totally unprincipled, he laughed at every sacred tie; and being ad-

by authority, an apologist may say for her, that the stratagem she practised was similar to one practised against the Carthaginians by Scipio Africanus.

* Dr. Cook.

dicted

dicted to study, he could support his immoral or irreligious maxims, by the reasonings of those writers who gave countenance to his opinions*. He possessed, at the same time, all the penetration, craft, and dexterity necessary for the services to which he was called.

After the discomfiture of Donduc Dashee, the Calmuck Princess returned to the country usually frequented by her nation, between the Don and the Volga; and there was reason to believe, that she intended, in case of any future assault, to put herself and her children under the protection of the Persian Monarch. It was necessary, therefore, that Tatishoff should lose no time in executing the designs of his Sovereign. He was fully satisfied, since the defeat of Donduc Dashee, that open violence was not to be attempted; and had recourse to such measures as were better suited to his character. Trusting to his address in discerning, and adapting himself to the weakness of the female constitution, he sent her magnificent presents; he said they were from the Russian Empress; he affected to disapprove of her rival; and, finally, he as-

* Dr. Cook.

fured her, that his Sovereign, from the high opinion she entertained of her merits, had appointed her governor of Astracan. He informed her, that he was ready to obey her commands; and that her power in that country would be inferior only to that of Elizabeth Petrowna. In order still farther to impose on her credulity, he forged letters as from the Empress; and sent some officers of distinction to assure her, that the great palace in the citadel, and the palace built in the neighbourhood of the city by Peter the Great, were ready for her reception. He told her, that all respect should be shown her as if she were Sovereign of the country; and that her new subjects were impatient to see her invested with the badges of her authority.

The Princess, in evil hour, was seduced. She quitted her retreat, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Astracan. Tatishoff waited upon her in her tent. He threw himself on his knees before her, and seemed to ratify, by the ardour of his protestations, the sincerity of his professions. Accordingly a day was fixed for her public entry into the city. Four thousand men were drawn up in the street, forming

forming a lane from the gate to the citadel. Cannons were fired, drums beat, bells rung, and the whole city seemed to be filled with joy and congratulation *. The Princess walked on foot, attended by forty Calmucks, the chief men of her nation. Tatishoff and his officers appeared in her retinue. The dignity of her person, and the beauty of her countenance, excited the admiration of the assembled multitude. The consciousness of her own integrity, and the belief that her spirited exertions, in behalf of her family, had procured her this distinction as the reward of her virtues, gave additional dignity to her appearance. She little knew that she had fallen into a treacherous snare.

A magnificent entertainment was provided for her in the great hall in the castle. She was seated at the head of the table; and while Tatishoff sat at the foot, her forty Calmucks took their places on each side of her. Every thing was conducted with the utmost splendour. Tatishoff was overjoyed; and the unsuspecting Princess was too soon in-

* Dr. Cook.

formed, that his joy arose from a very different cause than what she apprehended. For, after dinner, on pretence of some business, he requested her to go aside with him into an adjoining gallery. She went along with him unattended. The gallery had three doors; one at each end, and one from the hall. She had no sooner entered than the doors were shut: two grenadiers, with screwed bayonets, had been placed by every one of them on the inside: and she was informed, in their presence, of Tatishoff's perfidious purpose. He told her not to be alarmed, for that no harm was intended against her life, or that of her children; but that she must be prevailed with to resign her authority to Donduc Dashee; and that if her attending Calmucks made any resistance, it would prove fatal both to her and to them. The astonishment, the resentment, and the anguish of the Princess, were no doubt excessive. Yet these emotions did not deprive her of recollection, nor of the sense of her own dignity. Her conduct in this critical situation was such, as did not alter the circumstances of her fate, but very much lessened, if it did not entirely destroy, the triumph of her betrayer.

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She upbraided him with his treachery; but absolved the Empress from any share in his guilt: she reasoned concerning the propriety of his political conduct; she represented to him that her children were not actually in his power; that she had given general instructions to the Calmucks, who had them in charge, never, even at her request, in whatsoever circumstance she might be, to give them out of their hands; and that any violence done to them would for ever alienate the Calmuck nation from the interests of Russia. She told him moreover, that she acquiesced in her fate; she saw it was in vain to contend; but that if she were allowed to confer with her army, she would be able to dispose them to such an accommodation as was equally consistent with their honour, and the interests of the Russian empire. She added more prevailing enticements—her tears flowed in abundance, and with effectual power. A sympathetic emotion seized the heart of Tatishoff; he was unprincipled—but not insensible: and in that susceptible moment he yielded to her entreaty. The Princess's attendants received no information concerning this unexpected business till they returned

with her to the Calmuck camp.—Tatishoff, in the mean time, was not so entirely overcome by his feelings, as not to attend to some prudential considerations; and he sent along with the Princess a guard of above five hundred men. They were commanded by his son; and armed in the completest manner. It would appear, that the Tartar forces, on this occasion, were not very numerous, else they would have rescued the Princess from the hands of the Russians. But this, upon the present occasion, they were unable to execute.

The Princess, on returning to her encampment, lost no time in accomplishing the flight of her children: she herself was taking measures for her own escape; was mounting her horse at midnight; was discovered; and kept afterwards in closer confinement. In this situation, however, exulting inwardly in the supposed safety of her children, she appeared rather with the dignified silence of fallen majesty, than with the plaintive sorrow of afflicted weakness. By the dignity of her deportment she awed the forwardness of young Tatishoff, who was suspected of hav-
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ing offered her insult; and compelled him, by her indignant reserve, to behave with humiliating distance.

Meantime the Governor of Astracan repented him of his sensibility. The generality of mankind who suffer self-condemnation, are afflicted on account of their errors; but Tatishoff suffered self-condemnation for having given indulgence to somewhat of a generous emotion. He argued, he intreated, he solicited his captive (for, though in the Tartar camp, she was still his captive), to learn from her what she had done with her children. He sent troops in pursuit of them; he scoured the desert with his Cossacks; but in vain. She smiled at his distress: she told him he might do with her what he pleased; but the children of Donduc Ambo were no longer in his power. His chagrin preyed on his constitution; his sleep and his appetite left him; he durst not, for fear of making the whole Calmuck nation revolt, use the Princess with inhumanity; yet he was deeply mortified, and covered with shame for his disappointment.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless he was too soon relieved from this merited affliction. The young Princes were indeed under the protection of a numerous body of Calmucks, who were determined to defend them. But they were no longer defended by the wisdom, the vigilance, and affection of their mother. They fell at length into the hands of their enemy; and were sent, along with the Princess, under a strong guard, to Moscow. They were treated there with the utmost respect. The Empress gave them ample possessions; she visited the Princess; and did every thing in her power to render her situation agreeable. Virtuous, amiable, and respected, the Calmuck Princess enjoyed as much felicity as was consistent with the remembrance of her former condition. Some circumstances of her story resemble that of Zenobia, the famous Queen of Palmyra; and those particulars, in which there is any difference, do honour to the fair Circassian.

It does not appear that Donduc Dashee was able, or perhaps entirely willing, to accomplish the change so much desired by the Russians, in the manners of the Calmuck nation.

tion. Nor is it probable, that Tatishoff had much reason to rejoice in his impious maxims. Successful in one perfidious enterprize, he attempted others: and while he supported, as he apprehended, the interests of the empire, he was not inattentive to his own private emoluments. He became solicitous of amassing wealth. Selfish and unprincipled, he proceeded from injustice to violence and inhumanity. Among other enormities, he plundered and put to death an Armenian merchant. The affair was represented at St. Petersburg. Enquiry was made; and his guilt appeared so manifest, that he was divested of his command, and confined to a village in the neighbourhood of Moscow. He endeavoured to get an audience of his Sovereign; and did not doubt but that his insinuation and address would procure him forgiveness. But those who were interested in his fall opposed the means of his restoration. Once, in the disguise of a soldier, he had almost reached the palace; but was detected, dragged away, and sent back to his place of confinement. He did not die a violent death; but, possessed of keen sensibility, he suffered pangs more excruciating than the
pain

pain perhaps of such a death. Devoured with chagrin, he blasphemed heaven, spoke treason against his Sovereign, calumniated all men, pined in discontent, and died of vexation.

LETTER LIII.

A Pestilential Distemper in Russia.—The Massacre of the Archbishop of Moscow.

DEAR SIR, St. Petersburg, Dec. 3. 1771.

A PESTILENTIAL distemper has, for several months, been raging at Moscow, and in the neighbourhood. It had been communicated from the army; and broke out in the rainy season. Its ravages have been chiefly confined to the lower ranks; nor has it ever appeared very formidable where people have used the proper precautions of cleanliness and good air, to prevent it. I have not heard any good account of the symptoms, or nature of this dreadful disorder, other than that the unfortunate persons who are seized with it, are first affected with startings and tremors in the skin; they are then afflicted with a violent fever; exhibit red spots in different parts of the body, which seldom
suppurate;

fuppurate; and are tormented with excruciating pain in the bowels. They usually die in three or four days: and so furious was this distemper for above two months in the antient metropolis of this empire, that a thousand persons are said to have perished daily.

Its progress was encouraged by the improper treatment of the diseased. Hundreds of sick persons were unmercifully crowded into pest-houses, and there left to themselves. Whenever any person was suspected of having the plague, he was torn from his family, shut up with a multitude of loathsome wretches, and, thus abandoned by the world, he was given up to despair. Of consequence, few that were confined ever recovered; and as no one, at the beginning of the disorder, thought of burning the clothes of those who died, the contagion spread very fast.

Persons of distinction, and even some persons in authority, fled to the country. Numberless riots ensued; and inhuman robberies are said to have been committed. One shocking species of oppression is reported to have been practised by some inferior officers. If they bore
ill-will

ill-will against any one, or wanted a bribe, they threatened to accuse him of having the plague. The plague itself was not more formidable to the poor people, than the inhumanity with which the sick were treated; and rather than submit to it, they gave all they had to satisfy the avarice of their rapacious tyrants. The consequence of this was, that many persons actually diseased went about at large; and many in good health suffered dreadful confinement.

Meantime the pestilence became more and more violent, so that the people were driven to distraction; and receiving little assistance from their rulers, they had recourse to superstition. A certain image of the Virgin Mary was reported, by some mercenary priests, to possess singular efficacy in curing and preventing the distemper. Crowds both of healthy and diseased persons flocked to this hallowed physician; nor were they niggardly in their gifts and oblations. So that some of the inferior clergy, no less than the inferior officers, derived inhuman gains from the miseries of their fellow-citizens.

Ambrosius, Archbishop of Moscow, a man of great worth and liberality of sentiment, dreading the consequences, and shocked at the inhumanity of this infamous conduct, endeavoured, by removing the picture, to prevent it. This, however, produced an effect very different from what he expected. The people were enraged; their rage was exasperated by the instigation of the priests; they exclaimed that the archbishop was a Jew and a heretic; and that he was engaged in a hellish conspiracy with the physicians and surgeons, against whom their wrath was also kindled, to destroy them. In this furious state of mind, about ten thousand of them, with tumult and outcry, surrounded a church where the good archbishop was performing mass, and putting up prayers for their welfare. They insisted that he should come out, and restore to them their favourite idol. The venerable man appeared: he was arrayed in the solemn garb of his office; his grey hair was crowned with a mitre; he bore on his arm a cross; he stood on some steps on the outside of the church; and was about to address them. They fell upon him, and tore him
him

him in pieces. Rendered frantic by this bloody deed, they were proceeding to set open all the pest-houses,—to let out the diseased,—and massacre all obnoxious persons.

Mean time a Russian officer, named Yrepkin, with great resolution and presence of mind, collected about seventy soldiers: these were all he could muster: he also got two pieces of cannon; and with these he posted himself at the entry into one of the principal streets. The mob advanced; he ordered his men to fire; they did so; some of the rioters were killed: his men looked discontented; they were inclined to mutiny: “is it proper,” said one of them, assuming an arrogant tone, “that we should embrue our hands in the blood of our miserable countrymen?” Yrepkin made no other reply than to plunge his sword in his bosom. The rest were confounded; they obeyed the orders of their spirited leader, and dispelled the tumult: not, however, without the bloodshed of many hundreds.

When the tidings came to St. Petersburg, the consternation was universal; the Empress

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cried

cried bitterly ; and Count Orloff was immediately appointed, with full powers, to do every thing for the restoration of health, and the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. He accepted of the office with the utmost alacrity ; and I hear his labours are likely to prove effectual. He employs all the poor people in public works without the city ; and by keeping them cleanly, and in fresh air, the violence of the disorder is much abated. It is expected too, that much advantage will be derived from the severity of the winter.

There is no appearance of any pestilential distemper in this city. Every precaution, however, is used against it : the communication with Moscow, and all suspected places, is interrupted ; vinegar is burnt in great quantities in every house ; and the utmost attention is paid to the health of the lower ranks. Yet it is not very pleasant to be within two or three days journey of so dreadful a neighbour. Adieu.

LETTER LIV. (EXTRACT.)

Answer to an Objection concerning the National Character of the Russians.

* * * **I**NDEED, Sir, I must still retain my opinion, that the Russians, in general, shew a great deal of ill-regulated sensibility. This is a character which you may often see exemplified in individuals: But I suppose Russia is the only country where it is so general as to become a leading feature in the *national* character. It appears, I think, in the volatility of the Russians, in their fickleness, and sudden transitions from one affection, or one state of mind, to another. They have been branded with perfidy; yet I am apt to believe, that the appearances, in favour of such a charge, may often be traced to the changes and caprices of irregular feeling. Nor is it an objection, that, in many instances, they discover strong symptoms of in-

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humanity.

humanity. You will agree with me, if you recollect, that feeling and sensibility may lead men to resentment and indignation; these emotions may appear quite proper; and if so in minds unaccustomed to reflection, their violent excesses will suffer little restraint; this is still more the case, when the manners of men are rude and undisciplined. Persons of great sensibility, or, in other words, persons very apt to be moved, even in periods of refinement, unless their passions be under due management, are more in danger of being transported by virulent and inhuman vehemence, than persons of a colder and less affectionate temper. The Greeks were a people of more sensibility than the Romans; yet a sagacious observer, and excellent judge of human nature, and withal an admirer of the Greeks, represents them as more sanguinary and inhuman. “*Hoc egit civis Romanus ante te nemo. Externi isti sunt mores. Usque ad sanguinem incitari solet odium aut levium Græcorum, aut immanium barbarorum.*” *

The terms and phrases of endearment among the Russians are as extravagant, as

* Cicero pro Ligario.

they

they are gross and violent in their abuse. The softness and copiousness of their language too, are in favour of my opinion.— In a word, give them steadiness, give them firmness of mind, either by moral considerations, or by a regard to their own interest; teach them to act from fixed principles, and as they are an animated, you would soon see them a respectable, people, * * *

L E T T E R L V .

Remarks on the present Situation of the Jews.

DEAR SIR,

I FLATTER myself I shall very soon have the pleasure of seeing you in England.
* * * *

Mean time, as you are a lover of historical enquiries, I send you inclosed some *Remarks on the present Situation of the Jews*. They were given me by a sensible and ingenious friend, in consequence of some short observations of mine on the same subject †.

THE FATE OF THE JEWS, since their conquest by the Romans, is one of the most singular events we meet with in the history of the world. A conquered people have generally been either extirpated by their conquerors, or have been left by them to enjoy certain laws and privileges, or, mixing with

† See Letter XV.

their

their conquerors, have united and been blended together. The Saxons, when they conquered England, extirpated the natives, and they ceased to be a people. The Normans spared the lives of the Saxons, and the two people uniting, the distinction between them was quickly lost. But the Jews, after they were conquered by the Romans, being dispersed into the most distant countries, without any association together, or without any common bond of union to attach them to one country, or to one form of government, have remained distinct, separate, and divided from the rest of world; and no where do they seem to have been blended with the nations in whose country they have had their residence. In vain would we account for this from the prophetic descriptions of their situation contained in the Sacred Scriptures. The bare prophecies could never produce the event. It is enough, if those prophecies have foretold an event, which it seems to have been beyond the utmost power of human wit to foresee. To account for this event from any supernatural cause, must be equally unsatisfactory. It is not probable that God, though he may, for wise purposes, have in-

tended that the Jews should remain in this situation, would chuse to effectuate this by means different from his other operations in the world : and this is an account which no one, desirous of a solution, can rest upon with any tolerable degree of satisfaction.

But the circumstance of the Jews having remained a separate people, disunited from every nation in whose country they lived, is not the only thing that is singular in their history. Another very particular circumstance in their history is, their having been almost every where of the same profession. The Jews, wherever situated, and in whatever country dispersed, have constantly been merchants ; and if you speak of a Jew, the idea of a merchant is immediately called up along with it.

A third circumstance very particular in the situation of the Jews is their number. It is observed by Mr. Addison, in a paper in the Spectator upon the subject, that the Jews are at present as numerous as they were formerly in the land of Canaan ; and that this is very wonderful, when we consider the dreadful
slaughter

slaughter made of them under some of the Roman Emperors, their dispersion, and the innumerable massacres and persecutions they have since undergone.

A fourth circumstance, which may be considered particular with regard to the Jews in their character. The Jews, wherever they have gone, have ever held one uniform character. They have constantly, without exception, been considered as a deceitful and a vile people.

To endeavour to give some account of those peculiarities in the situation of the Jews, is proposed in the following remarks; which shall be chiefly confined to the situation of those Jews who have fixed their residence in Europe.

First, with regard to their having remained a separate and distinct people, never mingling or blending with those nations among whom they lived. One principal cause of this appears to have arisen from the peculiar nature of their religion. The religion of the Jews was such, that they could
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not possibly retain it, unless they remained separate and distinct. The moment they intermingled, or intermarried with any other nation, it behoved them to abandon and forsake it. The religion of the Jews was peculiar to themselves; it was peculiar to the twelve tribes of Israel; it was directed solely to the children of Abraham; and was a religion which could scarcely be adopted by any other people. Besides, the government of the Jews was founded on their religion; nay, made a part of it; and, unless they retained that government, as instituted at first by Moses, they could not retain their religious principles. The theocracy, the priesthood, vested in the Tribe of Levi; nay, every article of their private law, was an article of religion, and believed to be delivered by God to Moses from the Mount. Hence the necessity this people lay under of remaining a distinct people, so long as they retained their religion. This is a circumstance which distinguishes the Jewish from almost every other religion. A Protestant may remain a Protestant wherever he lives, whether he intermingle or unite with the people where he lives, or not. But a Jew, the moment he does this, gives up his religion,

religion, and forfeits all the blessings which are promised to his nation, or which belong to his particular tribe. God's chosen and well-beloved people reckon themselves the only people on earth worthy his protection and defence. Upon this foundation they despise the Gentiles, they value themselves as being the sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and, in order to obtain the blessings promised to each particular sect, they remain separate and distinct, and every Jew can number up his ancestors, in a direct line from himself to Abraham. Particular blessings were promised to them and them alone; and the long expected Messiah was prophesied to the Jewish nation only; and when he came, he was to be of the Tribe of Judah.

Another circumstance which accounts for the Jews having never united or intermixed with the nations among whom they lived is, the aversion which, from the particularity of their situation, they must have entertained to all the nations among whom they inhabited, and which those nations must, in their turn, have had to them. This mutual aversion must have separated them more and more;
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and must have tended still further to keep the Jews a separate and distinct people. After the establishment of Christianity, it is by no means wonderful, that the Jews should have been the objects of hatred and antipathy to the people among whom they lived. The Jewish religion being allowed by all Christians to be of divine origin, though the only one, except their own, which could claim this privilege, they were naturally led to consider the Jews as the most formidable antagonists to Christianity. Both boasting of a religion of a divine origin, the addition of a new and later revelation, being the only circumstance by which the Christians could support their deviation from the principles and religion of the Jews, they were naturally apt to consider those as their greatest enemies, who, coming so near themselves, and allowing part of the religion which they possessed to be divine, refused to acknowledge these later articles which they deemed the most important. Besides, being of the same country with the Author of Christianity, having had opportunity of becoming acquainted with the miracles which he performed, and the other proofs which he gave of the divinity of his mission, it was natural that the Christians

Christians should entertain an aversion to a people, who were not only of a religion different from their own, but who, favoured with all these circumstances, continued to deny those mighty works which had been wrought among them. But, above all, it was the people of this nation who had brought to the most cruel and infamous death the Son of God, and the founder of the Christian system. The people concerned in this transaction were now, indeed, long since buried in their graves; but their children still remained a living example of their wretchedness; nay, they still persisted in approving of the deed, and continued to glory in what had been done. We may add to this, that the fury which formerly seized the Christians, of making crusades to the Holy Land, tended to keep up their antipathy to the Jews; and, at every new expedition, the Jews were sure to feel the effects of their religious zeal. The English history alone is a sufficient proof of the oppressions which the Jews suffered; and these were all laid to the charge of their difference in religion. It is no wonder then that the Jews should entertain an aversion to the religion and people with whom they lived; and that,

in these circumstances, they should be more rivetted in their own religious principles and customs. Besides, that stubbornness so natural to mankind in certain circumstances, which makes them resolved not to give up their opinions to superior force, they would be apt to consider those oppressions as the effects of the greatest depravity and blindness; and they would esteem themselves as suffering in the cause of God and religion. Had the Jews been treated like other people,—had they been allowed to enjoy the same privileges and immunities with the other inhabitants of the countries in which they lived, it is not probable that they would have remained so long a separate and distinct people. Their own ancient manners would naturally have begun to have had less influence upon their minds; and they would have been gradually interchanged for the manners of their neighbours: but the bad treatment they met with, instead of assimilating them to the people among whom they lived, served to preserve that disgust and those prejudices which it was natural for them at first to entertain against them, and to confirm them in their obstinacy in maintaining their ancient errors.

errors. The Jews, separated and dispersed from one another, had no head, no regular society or junction, to support or confirm one another in their notions ; but the bad treatment they met with served the same end, and united more closely those who inhabited the same country.

I now proceed to consider those circumstances which may account for the Jews being all of one profession ; and this appears to have arisen from the situation in which Europe was about the time, and for a considerable time after, the first settlements of the Jews. Europe, the greatest part of it at least, was for a long time rude and barbarous. War was the only profession which was looked upon as honourable or reputable. Commerce, and every art connected with, or subservient to it, was considered as mean and unworthy. No circumstance tends to distinguish an early from an improved age, more than that superior honour which is paid to those who follow the art of war, and the disgrace which is thrown upon every other. Men in early ages, accustomed to military achievements, and filled with high ideas of heroism and honour,

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are naturally apt to consider in a mean and despicable light the more peaceable and safe employments of the mechanic, the manufacturer, or the merchant; and the whole affair of commerce is considered as a profession founded on injustice and oppression, and by which men live by taking advantage of the wants and necessities of others.

Thus, among the Greeks and Romans, it was reckoned a disgrace for a free man to be employed in a mechanical art. In the same manner, among all the nations in Europe, mechanics were held in contempt, and merchandize was in the greatest disrepute. The borrowing money upon interest, a thing without which trade cannot be carried on, was looked upon as the grossest injustice. In early ages, before the introduction of commerce, men never borrowed but when in need of money to supply their necessities, or the common expences of life. To take advantage of these necessities, by refusing to lend without a premium, was considered as an injustice by which men took advantage of the necessities of others. After commerce is introduced, when men begin to borrow money,

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not to supply their necessities, but with a view to profit and to increase their fortune, the lending money may then be defended upon all the principles of justice; yet men's prejudice against this species of traffic, from the influence of custom, still remains; and the taking of interest branded with the odious name of usury, is still prohibited and accounted injustice. The severest laws were made in Europe against it; the canon law, from the influence of the causes above-mentioned, which were increased by the authority of Aristotle's philosophy, permitted no Christian to receive interest; and the municipal seconded the prohibition of the canon law.

From these causes, the lending of money upon interest, the carrying on of every money transaction, and almost every branch of business, was taken out of the hands of the Christians, and was engrossed by the Jews. Hated already, and despised by the people among whom they lived, making light of any additional hatred or contempt which the profession of a merchant could bring upon them, and taught by their religion that it was no

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crime

crime to take usury from a stranger, they engaged in those branches of business which no other person in the country, who valued his reputation or character, would engage in. Devoid of the military spirit, because they had nothing to rouse it, and the more closely attached to their own interest, that they were secluded from the society of the people among whom they lived, they were almost the only persons, for a long time, who followed the profession of a merchant; and by means thereof they generally amassed prodigious estates. Joined to their being the only persons who enjoyed the advantage of this profession, the high interest of money, which sometimes even amounted to 50 *per cent.* contributed greatly to the vast fortunes which they were enabled to acquire.

The circumstances which have been now mentioned, as they account for the Jews having been merchants, will likewise help to give some additional reasons for the other peculiarity in their situation, viz. their having so long remained a separate and distinct people. It has been shewn, that the Jews were the natural objects of odium to the people among whom

whom they lived ; that this circumstance, while it drew upon them many hardships and persecutions, so it rendered them more and more averse to unite and connect themselves with those people by whom they suffered these persecutions. But this mal-treatment of the Jews will not of itself sufficiently account for their perseverance in their religion, and their attachment to each other. Had their perseverance only exposed them to evils and calamities, it is not to be believed that it would have continued. Men may for a while persist in their opposition to the cruelest persecutions ; and instead of putting an end to their zeal, it may increase it ; but the more cool views of interest will, in process of time, get the better of the more violent, and, of consequence, less permanent principle of zeal. The fathers may retain their ancient opinions, but the children will be apt to forsake them.

We have now seen, that evils and calamities were not the only things which attended the Jews, on account of their religion ; but from their perseverance therein, and in the doctrines of their fathers, they

reaped many and signal advantages. By a fortuitous coincidence of circumstances, the persecution and ill-usage which they met with, and the advantages which they reaped from their religion and country, would both have the same effect, and would tend to make them continue attached to their religion and people, and averse to mingle and unite with other nations. When they were harassed and oppressed by the Christians, they would consider themselves as suffering in the cause of God, and the consideration of this would attach them strongly to their religion; when, from the circumstance of their being of that religion, they amassed great fortunes, they would consider these as the reward of their perseverance; and ready to sink under the ill-usage they met with, they would comfort themselves under the view of more prosperous circumstances, and of amassing still greater fortunes; not to mention that the Jews, having no other object to attract their attention or engage their thoughts, would naturally become interested, and put a high value on their riches. The persecutions they met with, were likewise chiefly of that kind
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which made them put the greater value on the advantages they received from their religion. The aversion of the Christians to the Jews, while it led the Christians to oppress them, served at the same time to gratify another strong principle in the human mind, *their avarice*. The ill-will of the Christians was chiefly exerted in robbing and plundering the Jews of their great estates. This circumstance must have had a considerable influence in attaching them to their religion. It was the poverty or necessity of the Christians which led them to attack the fortunes of the Jews; it was the riches of the Jews which exposed them to these attacks. The continual comparison of those different situations would make the Jews always give the preference to their own. It was to their religion they owed being so much richer than the people about them; and the worst that could befall them, was to be stripped of those possessions, and to be reduced to fortunes similar to those of their neighbours. By becoming converts to Christianity, they lost at once all the advantages of procuring large fortunes, whereas, by remaining in their antient persuasion, they

had still a chance of freeing themselves from the plunder of their enemies. Attached to no one country more than another, if ever the persecution raised against them became so hot as to destroy all the advantages of their remaining in the country where they resided, they quickly left it; and finding means, by the invention of bills of exchange, to remove their effects, they settled in some other country where they could live with greater safety. This happened in England during the reign of one of the Edwards; and since that time, Mr. Hume observes, very few of that nation have ever lived in England.

These remarks may give some account of the causes of the particular situation of the Jews. Their having so long remained a separate and distinct people, and attached so closely to their religion, seems to have arisen, first, from the nature of that religion, the very existence of which depended on its votaries continuing a separate people. 2dly, It seems to have arisen from the aversion which took place between them and the people among whom they lived, and the hardships and persecutions they met with, which increased that

that hatred and dislike. 3dly, It appears, that it may be also in part accounted for, from certain advantages which they reaped from continuing attached to their religion and people.

The second peculiarity mentioned in the situation of the Jews, has also been accounted for, viz. their having been merchants, from the particular situation of the countries in which they lived, which prevented other men from being merchants, or laid them under great disadvantages if they followed that profession.

With regard to the third circumstance, mentioned as singular in the situation of the Jews, viz. their great number, perhaps it may be ascribed to their being merchants, and the wealth and opulence which the exercise of that profession produced. It is an observation, the truth of which will not be disputed, and which has been lately well illustrated by some eminent writers, that the populousness of a people depends on its means of subsistence; and that, in short, wherever

people have enough to maintain a family, they will get a family ; and that where this is the case, the nation must increase in its numbers. Now, the Jews becoming rich and wealthy, had subsistence sufficient. They had more ; they were richer than their neighbours around them ; and, as they increased their connexions became, of course, more and more numerous.

The fourth circumstance, which was mentioned as particular with regard to the Jews, was the unfavourable character uniformly given of them. The remarks which have been made, will help to give some account of this. To which may be added the just observation, that, to treat men with infamy, is the sure way to make them deserve it.

Upon the whole, these causes, if they cannot account for the events, may, at least, give room for enquiry upon the subject. It must be confessed, however, that the *influence of these causes seems now to be near an end*. The principles of toleration that have now taken place, have, in some measure, moderated, at
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least, men's aversion to the Jews; and the improvements of a more enlightened age have made men form better and more worthy notions of all the transactions of commerce. These Remarks have chiefly been confined to the situation of the Jews who have settled in Europe. With regard to the Jews who have settled in other countries, it shall only be observed in general, that the same causes which account for the singular situation of the Jews in Europe, will account for it likewise elsewhere. The Jewish religion is opposite to the Mahometan and Pagan, as well as to the Christian; and there seems indeed to have been something, both in the religious and political institutions and customs of the Jews, peculiar to themselves, which served to detach them, and to render them odious to every other people in the world. The same causes will likewise account for their being merchants: besides, it ought to be observed, that Alexandria was the place to which most of the Jews, who did not inhabit Europe, resorted; but the situation of Alexandria was such as peculiarly fitted it for merchandize, and for inspiring into the minds of a people, who had no other
object

object to attach them, a fondness for this occupation. Alexandria, situated on the coast of the Levant, not far from the Red Sea, and near one of the mouths of the Nile, lay most conveniently for carrying on the merchandize of India and of all the East.

LETTER LVI. (EXTRACT.)

*Journal of a Voyage from Cronstadt to
Copenhagen.*

* * * * *

August 16th, **W**E set sail in the afternoon for England *.

An agreeable evening; a brisk wind; the moonlight glancing upon the waves; gentle lightning darting at intervals from the bosom of a white cloud: the woody coast of Esthonia calm and silent.

Why did my heart throb, and my tears start, when I found myself in an English man of war? A thousand images of friends and country rushed on my mind. O, Nature! with what exquisite cords dost thou bind our hearts, and makest them thrill with ineffable rapture! I leaned over the side of the ship, and thought of Britain.

* In the *Flora*, commanded by Mr. now Sir, George Collier, who distinguished himself in the last war by his services in America, and by the capture of the *Leccadia*.

Aug. 17th. We passed Hogland: a mountainous and heath-clad island.

Aug. 18th—29th. Cross winds all the way from the Gulf of Finland: we run zig-zag from Abo to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to the Gulf of Bothnia. We pass Gothland; its shores are involved in a storm. Meantime the sailors are drowning cats and goats; performing sacrifice, half in jest and half in earnest, to the devil. There is more polytheism in the world than is commonly thought.

Aug. 30th. A thousand blessings on thy green hills and rocky shores, and on all thy sons and daughters, fair and pleasant Bornholm! Though thou canst not boast of groves and trees, yet thy verdure is lovely: and still, to the weary mariner, may it seem so! Still, as to us, may thy gentle gales come in place of impetuous tempests!

Sept. 1st. We passed the Isle of Ween; and also a long neck of land that forms the Bay of Copenhagen. We left to the leeward fifty-two sail of merchantmen. The scene delightful:

delightful: it exhibits Copenhagen lying at the bottom of the Bay, ornamented with seven considerable steeples, and a number of lesser spires; behind it, a beautiful green eminence; the shore on each side flat, adorned with verdure, corn fields, houses, and villages; a multitude of vessels, including eight ships of war, belonging to different nations, lying at anchor.

Sept. 2d. The city of Copenhagen is irregularly and too closely built. The streets are narrow and ill paved; the houses are of brick, and are covered with tiles. The palace is a heavy inelegant building: and the gardens of Rosenburg exhibit nothing but narrow lanes between high hedges, and dull canals. I do assure you, and the fact may be of service to those who gaze on the outside of a palace with admiration, that in a room in the mansion of the Danish Princes, where we were told, the King and his Ministers held councils of state, we beheld—the Royal Game of the Goose.

The Museum contains a valuable collection of natural curiosities, and some good pictures. Here we were also shewn some
ivory

ivory trinkets executed by a Danish King: the workmanship was indeed fine: but as we were looking at one piece that consisted of different parts linked together by little ivory rings, the person who shewed it accidentally dropt it on the floor: it was shivered into a thousand fragments. We were filled with consternation: a monument of royal ingenuity! a palladium perhaps of the Danish state!—"Never mind it," said our good-natured guide, "I shall have another in its place to-morrow."

The other curiosities which are shewn to strangers, are the dock-yard, which is indeed very noble; and the heads of Struensee and Brandt, which are very shocking. * * * *
Adieu.

Cras ingens iterabimus æquor.



T H E E N D.

ERRATA

Page 25. line 10. *for render read renders.*

311. — 6. *for sullen read fallen.*

370. — 8. *dele or.*

10. *for without disguise, read or without
disguise.*

411. — 3. *for flames read flame.*

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